

F B I

Date: 1/3/61

REC-57

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 sub B)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing information concerning an exchange between representatives of the CPSU and representatives of the CPC at the sessions of the meeting of the Editorial Commission on October 17 and 18, 1960.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG-5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/29/60. It is noted that only CG 5824-S\* and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN from the CP, USA participated in this meeting of the Editorial Commission. For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bureau letter dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, DC in accordance with instructions in referenced Bulet.

GALE

- ① - CC 1243  
 3 - Bureau (encl. 7) (AMRM) (RRR)  
 1 - New York (100-134637) (encl. 1) (AMRM) (RRR)  
 1 - Chicago  
 JERK/amf  
 (5)

ENCLOSURE  
 REC-57  
 100-428091-1102

CG Wick

101A  
 101V  
 1051  
 1 AM

1/9/61 JAN 5 1961

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M \_\_\_\_\_

Per \_\_\_\_\_

62 JAN 24 1961 Special Agent in Charge

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 06-27-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.  
January 3, 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

In Reply Please Refer  
to File No. 100-428091

EXCHANGE BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET  
UNION (CPSU) AND REPRESENTATIVES OF  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA (CPC)  
AT THE SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF  
THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 17 AND  
18, 1960

b6  
b7C

A source, who has furnished reliable information in  
the past, has furnished the following information:

A lively exchange took place between representatives  
of the CPSU and representatives of the CPC at the October 17 and  
18, 1960 sessions of the Commission to Prepare a Document for  
the November Meeting of Communist and Workers' Party, also known  
as the Editorial Commission. These sessions took place in  
St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia.

Remarks of MIKHAIL SUSLOV

The first speaker in this exchange was Mikhail Suslov,  
member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the Central Committee  
of the CPSU (CCPSU). The following is the essence of his remarks.

"We need to reduce our differences. Only the enemy  
would profit if we keep on fighting. We are glad that the CPC  
has agreed to meet with us. This should facilitate meetings with  
other Parties and should help us in the preparation of the forth-  
coming conference of all Parties. This meeting is significant  
in the struggle against war and against colonialism.

"In a letter of the CPSU, addressed to the CPC on  
August 13, 1960, we expressed a hope for unity and we told  
our Chinese Comrades that all fraternal Parties would be made  
happy if we could unite. But the Chinese Comrades, in a letter

~~TOP SECRET~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-1102

~~TOP SECRET~~

Document downgraded to Secret  
per 60324 u [redacted] RS in 100-428091

RUSA

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

EXCHANGE BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF  
THE CPSU AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE  
CPC AT THE SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF  
THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 17 AND 18, 1960

of September 10, sent us a letter of a different character than ours. Their letter sharpens and piles up new differences. Their letter contains many incorrect statements. There is no Marxist-Leninist approach nor are the interests of other Parties given consideration in their letter. We reject the theses in their letter. They are not based on facts but on imagination. They ascribe to us things we never said or put forth.

"The letter, on many important issues, is anti-Marxist-Leninist and they ignore the opinions of the fraternal Parties that met at Bucharest as well as the decisions made by some Parties since Bucharest. This letter also contains slanders against the CPSU. They charge us with opportunism and the abandonment of Marxism-Leninism.

"Not since the Trotskyites were expelled from our Party were such accusations made. We emphatically reject these slanders. We also reject the attempt on their part to separate Comrade Khrushchev from the CPSU and to divide the CPSU from other Parties. The attempt to separate Comrade Khrushchev from the CCCPSU is an abortive and crude attempt on the part of you Chinese Comrades.

"The CPSU is united internally. It is united on international and domestic problems. Your attempt to break the unity of the CPSU and to separate it from other fraternal Parties is insulting. We want to sincerely eliminate differences. We want to eliminate possible misunderstandings. But we want to do this on the basis of principle. We would say that your letter and your speeches here show that you are lacking in a sincere desire to meet us half way.

"The Chinese Comrades say that a majority cannot decide principle, that a majority cannot turn a mistake into the truth or into principle. They say further, in the letter and in the speech of TENG Hsiao-ping that a minority cannot be made wrong by a majority. This, Chinese Comrades, means ignoring the opinion of the world Communist movement.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

EXCHANGE BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF  
THE CPSU AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE  
CPC AT THE SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF  
THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 17 AND 18, 1960

"The Chinese are abandoning their position which they took at a prior meeting with representatives of the CPSU when they promised a re-examination of their stand if a majority of the Parties prove the Chinese wrong. Now the CPC does not want to reckon with the opinions of the international movement. Not a single Party, including the CPC, cannot but reckon with the opinions of the international movement.

"The CPC is abandoning the great principles of Marxism-Leninism. The CPC letter of September 10, as well as the speeches made here, do not contain one constructive suggestion. On the contrary we must say, to our sorrow, that the Chinese Comrades are sharpening things.

"In the CPC letter they tried to create the impression that they were always for peaceful co-existence, for the idea of non-inevitability of war and for disarmament. Everyone knows this is not so. They also ascribe views to the CPSU that we do not hold and never held. The letter and the speeches have no answers for current problems that we face. But you are attacking the CPSU in a vile manner like the bourgeoisie. We are surprised that the CPC joins in such slanderous attacks. Our Party has always offered support and assistance to the CPC. We suggest the Chinese Comrades say how they want this meeting to proceed."

Remarks of TENG Hsiao-ping *China Russia*

~~TENG Hsiao-ping~~, General Secretary of the CPC, was the next speaker in this exchange. There follows the essence of his remarks.

"We are glad to hear that Marxism-Leninism will be the basis for our discussion. We are also happy that the Moscow Declaration of 1957 is referred to. Our letter, the letter of the CPC, is really a reply to your letter, the CPSU letter of June 21. Your letter was the beginning of a crusade and an organized attack against us. Was this an effort for unity or an effort to reach agreement by our two states?"

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

○

~~TOP SECRET~~

EXCHANGE BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF  
THE CPSU AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE  
CPC AT THE SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF  
THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 17 AND 18, 1960

"The Bucharest Communique is not all-sided and contains some erroneous theses. Although it contains some wrong theses, for example, on opportunism, we signed but for the sake of unity only. All the attacks against us came and come from Comrade Khrushchev but just the same we agreed to participate in this second Moscow conference. 70 articles appeared in the Soviet press directed against us and calling us adventurers, dogmatists and other things.

"After Bucharest the CCCPC decided not to argue any more but to wait until this Moscow meeting. We did not publish a single article after that."

At this point there was an interruption by Boris Ponomarev, member of the CCCPSU, who said, "you did publish such articles."

N. V. Andropov, head of a Department of the CCCPSU, also interrupted to say, "dozens of such slanderous articles were published against us in your press."

TENG Hsiao-ping continued. "On July 6, 1960 and on July 15, 1960 we stopped two publications that contained articles aimed at you. At the end of July you recalled nearly all your specialists. On August 31 our government sent you some notes because of these terrible boundary incidents. Therefore, it is hard for us to find a way of reconciling the words of Suslov with the solution of our problems in the fight against the common enemy. You, the CPSU, which governs the USSR, carried our differences into the realm of state relations.

"We want to know what the CPSU and the USSR are going to do. Are you ready to develop better relations and friendship?"

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

EXCHANGE BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF  
THE CPSU AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE  
CPC AT SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF  
THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 17 and 18,  
1961

Remarks of FROL KOZLOV

*Russ / B*

Frol Kozlov, member of the Presidium and a Secretary  
of the CCCPSU, was the next speaker in this exchange. The following  
is the essence of his remarks.

"There are no objective conditions that should prevent  
us from reaching a solution of the many problems. We of the CPSU  
cherish proletarian internationalism and we are surprised at TENG  
Hsiao-ping's question, where are we going? Such a posing of the  
question is wrong. We never pose questions that way.

"We proceed from the viewpoint that there must be rela-  
tions between us based on proletarian internationalism and  
Marxism-Leninism. We always, in practice, answered these questions.  
We always offered fraternal help. Our relations have always  
been based on sincere respect for the people of China, the  
CPC, its revolutionary past and its contributions to socialism.  
But we must state very frankly the CPC letter of September 10  
does not help to overcome our differences.

"You, Chinese Comrades, transferred these arguments from  
the sphere of ideology to the sphere of state matters. On the  
recall of Soviet specialists I would remind the representatives  
that this was raised with Comrade MAO Tse-tung in 1958. Our  
experts were frustrated. They found it difficult to work.  
You carried on agitation amongst Soviet specialists. How would  
you like it if we did the same thing amongst your people? When  
you published the magazines that you circulated in our country  
you did just that. You carried on propaganda and we protested  
and so did our people. We could either continue to polemicize against  
you, fight you openly or take other measures that might have led  
to further complications. We stopped the circulation and the  
publication of 'The Journal of Soviet-Chinese Friendship' and  
the magazine called 'Friendship'.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

EXCHANGE BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF  
THE CPSU AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE  
CPC AT SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF  
THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 17 AND 18,  
1960.

Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping says that the CPC letter and the speeches he makes here are actually a reply to our letter of June 21, 1960. Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping is wrong. We think that he is only using an argument to justify the Chinese actions. You have been carrying on a crusade against us and other Marxist-Leninist Parties. Not once did the leadership of the CPC strive to discuss with us the questions of dispute when they were in embryo form, that is before they developed. We, on our part, never carried our discussion beyond our Central Committee.

It is an actual fact that the CPC has attacked the international Communist movement. All the articles on the 90th anniversary of the birth of LENIN can be considered official even if they did not carry the signatures of your leadership. The CPC leadership did speak to various people of the fraternal Parties and they did do these things behind our backs. You also involved non-Party organizations, like the World Federation of Trade Unions, and attacked some fraternal Parties. You did not consult us or any other Party.

Would you say that this is no attack when you call together people to deal with issues which you raised and related to the general line and tactics which you tried to revise? When the Parties in the Bucharest meeting rebuffed you and your views you turned around and charged that an attack is being made upon you. The CPSU letter of June 21, 1960 was formulated in calm tone and discussed these questions. Now you charge that this was an attack also.

As regards your September letter you charge that many articles in the Soviet press have been attacks on China. This is not so. We wrote articles only to explain the Bucharest line. We never mentioned China or the CPC as a vehicle or the carrier of erroneous views. In some articles on June 28 and August 13 in "Jenmin Jihpao", you spoke about contemporary revisionism. You even charged that Lenin's line on war and peace had been distorted. Only the blind would not understand at whom these articles were directed.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

EXCHANGE BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF  
THE CPSU AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE  
CPC AT SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 17 and 18, 1960.

"On August 1, 1960 CHOU En-lai spoke for the principles of peaceful co-existence. But in the same month, on August 10, one of your papers in an autonomous region wrote: "To abandon the gun one should take up the gun. Only through war can war be eliminated."

"You continued your arguments but not in the abstract but very concretely and against the views of the fraternal Parties.

"Your letter was written months after Bucharest. You could have thought things over. You might have asked yourself, where does it lead? You, TENG Hsiao-ping said: "The Soviet side is the cause of several boundary incidents". There are no boundary problems between us, there is no such issue between our countries. But when this question is raised in such a manner by TENG Hsiao-ping, you are shifting the sickness from a sick head to a healthy one.

"We here will observe all treaties. You are trying to create artificial problems or issues. This hinders the removal of differences. You are raising artificial questions and you include these among those that were solved a long time ago. For example, why do you now raise the question of the cult of the individual and try to revive the cult of J. V. STALIN? In doing this you ignored the positive estimate of all the fraternal Parties on the 20th Congress of the CPSU and even the decisions of your own 8th Congress of the CPC.

"Our letter only touched on Stalin lightly. This problem has passed but the CPC letter made this a first rate problem but omitted the most important aspect of the problem, the criticism of the cult of the individual and its harmful consequences. You had two articles on this question. But we, since the 20th Congress in 1956, have dealt with this problem in the history books, The History of the CPSU, in the Soviet Encyclopedia, etc.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

EXCHANGE BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF  
THE CPSU AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE  
CPC AT SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 17 and 18, 1960

"In your letter of September you point to differences regarding Poland and Hungary. But you know as well as we do that we are in agreement with these Parties and with these countries concerning the events that transpired in the fall of 1956. But now the Chinese Comrades criticize us and even try to raise the question of the location of our troops in Poland in 1956.

"When the reactionaries were preparing to attack we moved our troops for the defense of the Polish working class to avoid repeating a second Hungary. MAO Tse-tung recognized this and told us that the Soviet troops were needed in Poland and should be sent in. But events in Poland turned out differently than in Hungary. Here we can say thanks to the Polish Party. It is a principled Party, very decisive yet flexible. All the USSR did at that time was show a readiness to help.

"The CPC gave us advice of a different character than you now claim. All the fraternal Parties approved the step of sending troops into Hungary to suppress the counter-revolution. Only the Chinese Comrades at that time said it was premature and done in haste. LIU Shao-chi said this. He said, wait ten days. That was your Party's actual point of view. Now you distort your position of 1956 and hamper clarity regarding this period. We know what we are talking about and we have documents to prove this. Your method can only whip up nationalist feeling in Hungary and Poland.

"The articles on the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, you claimed were supposed to end all un-clarity. But even in 1956 we did not speak of ideological confusion in the Communist movement. Only the enemies charged that and now you talk about ideological confusion in the Communist movement. You are bringing distortion and confusion into the fraternal Parties by distorting Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow documents (of 1957). What you say is in contradiction to what you do.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

EXCHANGE BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF  
THE CPSU AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE  
CPC AT SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 17 AND 18, 1960

"You are trying to create a split between the CPSU and Comrade Khrushchev. This will fail. Comrade Khrushchev is our authoritative leader. He is dedicated to Communism and to the cause of peace. Right now he is in the United States talking to the peoples of the world from the rostrum of the United Nations. He is talking about the decay of capitalism and how it is burying itself. That, Chinese Comrades, is not white-washing imperialism.

"Comrade Khrushchev could have stayed home here comfortably. Would that have helped the cause of Communism? He brought the issues into the camp of capitalism. He reached the peoples and he indicted the imperialists as the vehicles for war.

"The Chinese Comrades are now defending Stalin and are calling him the second sword as did PENG Chen. It is known to you in particular that Stalin's separation from the people caused untold suffering; it caused shortages in agriculture. There was a lack of food in our country as well as other commodities. J. V. Stalin dreamed, and only dreamed, of two million poods of grain. But now, as a result of our policies, we have more than three million poods, more than the dream of Stalin, and even that is not considered enough by us. We will have more.

"It is offensive to us when in your letters and speeches you criticize our Comrade Khrushchev but we still think we should dedicate this meeting to discuss contemporary developments and to work out strategy and tactics for the world Communist movement. We should deal with:

1. The character of the epoch.
2. War and peace.
3. Peaceful co-existence.
4. Forms of transition to socialism.
5. Other miscellaneous problems.

"We should concentrate our work on these."

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

EXCHANGE BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF  
THE CPSU AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE  
CPC AT SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN MOSCOW;  
RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 17 and 18, 1960

Additional Remarks of TENG Hsiao-ping

TENG Hsiao-ping spoke again. He said, "I need to study and think over what was said here. But the articles which appeared in 'Jenmin Jihpao' on June 28 reflect the viewpoint of our Party. We respect Comrade Khrushchev but many views that are contrary to Marxism-Leninism seem to be concentrated in the views of Comrade Khrushchev. Also Comrade Khrushchev is always attacking China, its leadership and the CPC."

At this point there was an interruption by Frol Kozlov who said, "we agree with Comrade Khrushchev."

Mikhail Suslov interrupted to say, "Comrade Khrushchev never said anything against the CPC. You fell for the propaganda of the bourgeoisie."

Remarks of PENG Chen

The next speaker in this exchange was PENG Chen, member of the Politburo and the Secretary of the CCCPC. The following is the essence of his remarks.

"We refer to sources where Khrushchev has made statements that attack the CPC. Where will you find statements or assertions that this is an epoch of 'imperialism and wars'? Yet you call us dogmatists. We never made such statements. In our press we write of peaceful co-existence 365 days a year."

With this remark, Boris Ponomarev, N. V. Andropov and L. F. Ilyichev, all members of the CCCPSU, shouted simultaneously at PENG Chen. They said, we could not find a reference to peaceful co-existence in any of your speeches or in any documents you have written lately.

PENG Chen continued. "Why do you not publish our articles in the magazine, 'Problems of Peace and Socialism' (also known as the 'World Marxist Review')?"

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

EXCHANGE BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF  
THE CPSU AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE  
CPC AT SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 17 AND 18, 1960

Suslov replied, "this is not our magazine alone. Other  
Parties have a say."

Additional Remarks by TENG Hsiao-ping

TENG Hsiao-ping spoke again and said, "the Soviet  
Comrades, even before Bucharest, did not agree with us on our  
dispute with India. You actually condemned our position and  
Nehru used your statements to whip up an anti-Chinese campaign."

The source pointed out that Tass had issued a statement  
hoping that the border dispute between China and India could  
be settled peacefully through negotiations.

Andropov interrupted TENG Hsiao-ping to say, "it is a  
fact however that the position of the USSR and that statement  
stopped United States interference."

TENG Hsiao-ping continued. "This statement, which  
was published in the world capitalist press, not only helped  
the Nehru government, took sides against us but resulted  
in attacks against Indian Communists too. And I want to repeat  
what Comrade PENG Chen said, Comrade Khrushchev has been attacking  
the CPC and has been making attacks on China."

Additional Remarks by PENG Chen

PENG Chen asked, "what was the purpose of the Bucharest  
meeting if not to use China as a punching bag and Khrushchev did  
the punching?"

Reply by Pyotr Pospelov

Pyotr Pospelov, Candidate Member of the Presidium of  
the CCCPSU, replied to PENG Chen and said, "I can tell you  
the purpose of the Bucharest meeting. It was to get the  
Parties to consult with each other."

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

EXCHANGE BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF  
THE CPSU AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE  
CPC AT SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 17 AND 18, 1960

Additional Remarks of TENG Hsiao-ping

TENG Hsiao-ping then spoke again and said, "Khrushchev has, on many occasions, said that Eisenhower believes in peace but other forces in the United States have a hand in determining the situation. Why does Khrushchev have to praise Eisenhower? I think that Khrushchev is wrong in believing that Eisenhower did not know of the U-2 flight. I repeat that Khrushchev concentrates his attacks on China and continues white-washing United States imperialism, its government and especially Eisenhower. We have proof of this.

"Khrushchev may be alright in talking about burying imperialism. When he makes militant propaganda speeches he is alright but as a result of having confidence in imperialist statements he negates the idea of burying capitalism. We saw in your paper, the Soviet Press, a cartoon by one Constantinov (phonetic) in which a girl gives an olive branch to Eisenhower. That idea is not a fact. This is trash that you print in your press."

Final Remarks by Mikhail Suslov

This exchange came to a conclusion with a final remark by Mikhail Suslov. He said, "we want the Chinese Comrades and the entire world to know that the Presidium, the Central Committee, the Party and its entire membership and the people of the Soviet Union support Comrade Khrushchev unreservedly."

This memorandum contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency..

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 1/3/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS - C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau 7 copies and to the New York Division 1 copy of a letterhead memorandum containing information concerning a speech by MIKHAIL SUSLOV at the session of the meeting of the Editorial Commission, held in Moscow, Russia on 10/8/60.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to Special Agents JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/29/60. It is noted that only CG 5824-S\* and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN from the CP-USA participated in this meeting of the Editorial Commission. For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bureau letter dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions in re Bureau letter.

GALE

Let to State (Encl. 1)

1 CA  
1 OM  
1 OS  
1 AIS

Encl. 3 1/9/61

JWL:Knd

- ③ 1 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - Chicago

JEK:hjz  
(5)

LC G. Wick

ENCLOSURE

EX-113 REC-57

100-428091-1103

9 JAN 5 1961

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 06-27-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 3, 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

SPEECH BY MIKHAIL SUSLOV AT THE  
SESSION OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 8, 1960

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

The Commission to Prepare a Document for the November meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, also known as the Editorial Commission, heard a speech by Mikhail Suslov, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCPSU) in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia on October 8, 1960. This speech was in answer to a speech by TENG Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China (CPC), on October 5, 1960. The CPSU had made available to the delegates of the 26 Communist and Workers' Parties present an initial draft of a declaration.

There follows the essence of the remarks of Mikhail  
~~Suslov.~~ RUSSIA

"I am glad that all the speakers agreed that our draft was a Marxist-Leninist document. All spoke in a constructive spirit and in a business like manner. The draft is a programmatic document. It is natural that amendments and suggestions will be made that will enrich this document. We are in agreement that this document should analyze the last three years and to do this in a Marxist-Leninist way. The objective of this document is to consolidate the socialist camp and the world Communist movement. We are marching steadily onward to new successes. All the Parties are guided by Marxism-Leninism."

Document downgraded to ~~Secret~~ per  
60324 UC   RS on 2/22/04

b6  
b7c

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-1103

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

CG 100-428091  
SPERCH BY MIKHAIL SUSLOV AT THE  
SESSION OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 8, 1960

"The CCCPSU emphasizes the effectiveness of the 1957  
Declaration and Peace Manifesto.

"We wanted to elucidate only since Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping's speech shows we need to give some answers. In the first part of his speech TENG Hsiao-ping said that he agrees with us on the character of the epoch, peaceful co-existence, the ways of transition, etc. He also accepted the draft as a basis for discussion, at least this is what he said. We had hoped that when the draft is accepted as a basis we will find agreement. We will do everything, all we can, to try for agreement but on a principled basis. However the second part of TENG Hsiao-ping's speech did not contribute to the unity of our movement. The delegation of the CPSU must rebuff some of the unfounded charges contained in Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping's speech.

"But first I want to deal with some other things, the definition of the present epoch is based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis. It is also based on the theses of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU and the Moscow Declaration of 1957. If we are in agreement on the character of this epoch this will clear up the confusion in the three articles of the Chinese Comrades in "Long Live Leninism". Agreement on the essence of this epoch gives us a clue to solve some fundamental problems that mankind could not solve before. The questions of war and peace are the most important. There is no denying that the war danger exists. The imperialists cite these dangers and use science to measure the amount of destruction they can throw on this world.

"We disagree with the Chinese Comrades on the "paper tiger" idea. We do believe, however, that this historical period gives socialism the possibility to shape the course of history.

"The Communists consider it their sacred duty to deliver mankind from nuclear war. We hold that the fight for the prevention of war means using every possibility available to us to accomplish just that. We also hold that it is necessary to fight against small wars or local wars. Here we want to emphasize and state that as regards local wars we mean wars started by the imperialists not national liberation wars.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

CG 100-428091

SPEECH BY MIKHAIL SUSLOV AT THE  
SESSION OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 8, 1960

"The history of the second World War shows that this war really started with preliminary local wars. I want to point out that Dulles' theory or strategy of the "rolled back" idea was based on local wars. To fight against a world war today means fighting to do away with all the so-called nests of local wars. To accept the Chinese local war theory may doom the people to inaction. Many speakers here have pointed out that the peace forces of the world can stop a big war. We want to emphasize that these same forces can also stop local wars.

"We cannot agree with the idea put forth by our Chinese Comrades of putting equal emphasis on preventing war and on the danger of war imminently breaking out. The task is to use every opportunity to stop war. We cannot say to the masses, maybe we will have peace but we cannot be sure. Or, as the Chinese Comrades have said in their articles, we are not the general staffs of the imperialists or "we do not decide".

"Local wars can break out. There is no guarantee against them but there are possibilities to prevent war even before some more major capitalist states become socialist. The banner of peace makes it possible to rally millions of people that the imperialists cannot rally. Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping says that if we say that war can be prevented this disarmed the people fighting war.

"We cannot agree with Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping's lack of faith in peaceful co-existence or even with the Chinese Comrade's acceptance of peaceful co-existence but with all sorts of reservations. The enemies, particularly Adenauer and the German militarists say that peaceful co-existence is dangerous. Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping says that the period since World War II is characterized by peaceful co-existence of a sort. How do we conceive of peaceful co-existence? Peaceful co-existence is an economic, political and social struggle that will in the end weaken imperialism. What we are concerned with is that this economic, political and social struggle does not become a world armed conflict.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

CG 100-428091  
SPEECH BY MIKHAIL SUSLOV AT THE  
SESSION OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 8, 1960.

"The imperialists try to commit armed aggression but they will be foiled by our might and our day to day struggle for peace. We will use the effectiveness of socialism to bolster peaceful co-existence. Peaceful co-existence will help the masses. Disarmament is a major question and we are out to achieve it. This would lift some burdens from the masses of people the world over. Peaceful co-existence and peace mean a world without arms, a world without armies and wars.

"If the enemy continues to arm we will do so too." In fact we wrote this into the draft. We want to narrow the possibilities of the imperialists unleashing a war. If we succeed to stop nuclear tests, to ban A and H bombs, this will help the people of the world who are fighting against imperialism. These things will not happen over night. We see our aim as a long term fight to unmask the imperialists. This is what Comrade Nikita S. Khrushchev is doing in the United Nations today in the lair of imperialism. He is also bringing the truth about communism to the peoples of the world and to the Americans. Comrade Khrushchev's expose of imperialism and the need for China to be a member of the United Nations and telling the world about the achievements and great deeds of China were very important in waging the battle against imperialism. To belittle this role of Comrade Khrushchev helps our enemies. //

"On the question of transition to socialism, Comrade Khrushchev stated this problem at the 20th Congress. He saw the necessity for struggle and even the possibility for civil wars in some countries but he went beyond this characterization and possibility. He said that more diverse forms of transition to socialism are possible and may be even without civil war.

"Comrade Khrushchev outlined two possible forms of transition - peaceful and non-peaceful. This idea has nothing in common with the reformist, social democratic idea for even peaceful transition means struggle and leading masses of people in struggle. This conception is contained in the 1957 Declaration. Even at that time the CPC disagreed. They said it is alright to talk about this for tactical reasons. It is good to talk of peaceful transition. But here we disagree with our Chinese comrades.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

CG 100-428091  
SPEECH BY MIKHAIL SUSLOV AT THE  
SESSION OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 8, 1960

We agree with this idea of peaceful transition for more basic reasons not merely for tactical reasons. But we want to remind our Chinese friends that we never, however, stressed the one-sided aspect of this problem of transition. It is a question of taking advantage of the possibilities in our epoch such as the influence of socialism, the gathering of allies and broad support. Also that we are gaining the upper hand in the field of production. As socialism develops its attractive power and ideas will increase and spread. The imperialists will not be able to intervene in revolutions as they did in the past. It is these circumstances that create the possibilities for peaceful transition.

The Chinese comrades keep on referring to both aspects of the problem and in doing this they reject the attractive power of socialism also the organizational power and strength of the working class in the capitalist countries. In short, they underestimate the working class in the capitalist countries. Under the leadership of the communist parties in the capitalist countries, the workers will master other forms of struggle, parliamentary and non-parliamentary.

Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping questioned us on the utilization of the collective experience of other Communist Parties. He stated that the CPSU denied experience of other Parties and that we especially ignored the experience of the CPC. I want to say that when we speak of collective experience we include China. Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping, on the other hand, thinks that if we mentioned China this was included in the draft to really get at the Chinese comrades.

Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping opposed the thesis of struggle against nationalism. In the draft we point to Yugoslavia as severing itself from the socialist camp. A very important thesis of the Moscow Declaration of 1957 calls for combining national patriotism with proletarian internationalism.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

CG 100-428091  
SPEECH BY MIKHAIL SUSLOV AT THE  
SESSION OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 8, 1960

"We use the phrase, national communism, because we are not going to take a step backward. For the first time in history we have an international movement which includes a system of socialist states. This is something new but this requires that we must act in greater unity in order to advance the cause of socialism. Imperialism will try to prevent unity. The imperialists left us a legacy of nationalism. Lenin often warned us about this evil of national prejudices. The influence of socialism or communism is so great that even the bourgeoisie tries to use these words but add the prefix, national.

"The fanning of national aloofness or nationalism is used by imperialism. Yugoslavian revisionism aimed darts at the CPSU and the Soviet Union and called it hegemonyism. The treachery of Imre Nagy in Hungary showed the poison of nationalism. We also know that Comrade LIU Shao-chi has written many works on the evils of nationalism. We have studied these. We think that the struggle against revisionism is bound up with the struggle against nationalism and here I want to emphasize that the delegation of the CPSU categorically rejects the horrible charge contained in Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping's speech, the charge of great power chauvinism.

"Remember our help in Berlin, in Hungary. Remember the praise of support to Egypt and Iraq. These are manifestations of internationalism. Do you want to delete this from world history, Chinese comrades? You know our love and friendship for China. We disregarded our own needs after World War II to help China in its construction. When the Sixth United States fleet went into the Taiwan Straits, remember the warning of Comrade Khrushchev to the imperialists? Remember we said that an attack on China would be considered by the USSR as an attack on us.

"Now about the recalling of the specialists and I will deal with it only because it has been raised again. Many years ago we sent groups of advisors to China and other socialist countries. In 1956 we recalled most of our specialists and they came home from all the socialist countries. Only the Chinese comrades asked that our specialists stay on. But our comrades in China began to suffer. Their experience was belittled. The Chinese were counselling their people not to follow blindly foreign experience.

~~TOP SECRET~~ 6 -

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

CG 100-428091  
SPEECH BY MIKHAIL SUSLOV AT THE  
SESSION OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 8, 1960.

"If your production and industry has been damaged, you Chinese comrades are responsible. Your managers would not listen. You fired your examiners. Your foremen and many other supervisory positions were abolished in your establishments. Our people, when they insisted on high technical standards, were insulted and pushed around. While this was happening all the Chinese were interested in was glory.

"In addition to the frictions between Soviet and Chinese officials you tried to inject ideological differences. We could do nothing else but recall these specialists and experts.

"Now on factionalism, we say it is intolerable and applies to all Marxist - Leninist Parties. Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping also calls for unity and solidarity. But what is needed is not mere words but deeds. The Leninist principle of respect for the majority is valid also in the international movement not merely inside each Party. There can be no unity without this principle. If we delete this part from our document, the part on factionalism, we will become disunited.

"We believe in equality. We do not believe in compulsory agreement. But we do need a common line and common action. We always drew strength from unity. We must reject the idea of pressure or the idea of a father Party as placed here by the Chinese. We have no use for the phrases, headed by the CPSU, led by the Soviet Union, etc. Our Party has proposed to abolish this formula. We base our relations with all Marxist - Leninist fraternal Parties on the principle of equality.

"The draft before us gives proper attention to the ideological struggle. The draft stresses the importance of ideology today. We have been waging a struggle against Yugoslavian revisionism. In some Parties the revisionists were in power or tried to gain power. There were terrific struggles in the CP-USA, the CP of Canada, the CP of Great Britain in Denmark and other countries. We are able to say these Parties withstood the onslaught of the revisionists and defeated them decisively. We must also emphasize and admit that we not only waged a struggle against the revisionists but defeated them. All the Parties I have referred to threw the revisionists out. Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping criticized the draft declaration, as introduced by the CPSU, on the struggle against revisionism and dogmatism.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

CG 100-428091  
SPEECH BY MIKHAIL SUSLOV AT THE  
SESSION OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 8, 1960

"We hold that unless we fight on two fronts, revisionism and dogmatism, we cannot win. Revisionism is the influence of the bourgeoisie. It underestimates the revolutionary potentialities of the working class. The sources of dogmatism are the petty bourgeoisie. The dogmatists have no creativeness. They are divorced from reality. They have no grasp of the world revolution as a whole. They attempt to skip stages. Lenin wrote about this. He criticized the lefts and sectarians and said the revolutionary phrase is the repetition of slogans without life.

"Here is the exact quotations from Lenin: 'The revolutionary phrase is a repetition of revolutionary slogans without taking into account the objective circumstances prevailing at the given zig zag in events, in the given state of affairs. Slogans beautiful and inebriating, with no ground under them, such is the essence of the revolutionary phrase'.

"There is a need for combining organically Marxism - Leninism with new propositions. The Chinese comrades insist that at Bucharest they were subjected to unjustified criticism. This is not so. We should remember the fact that the CPC organized meetings of World Federation of Trade Union leaders while in Peking, met with them, tried to indoctrinate them and criticized other fraternal Parties in these meetings. Later the Chinese comrades raised some of these same things with non-Party people. Therefore we had to raise these questions and discuss these things at Bucharest.

"The CPSU, when preparing the draft, was motivated only by the spirit of unity. Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping's speech contained so many erroneous propositions, so many unfair misinterpretations and sometimes even absurd assertions with respect to our Party that we were unable and indeed had no right to pass them over in silence. Lenin taught us to be guided by principle, to talk things out and then redouble our unity after we argue out our problems. Disagreements are bound to arise but we must not permit these to weaken our unity.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

CG 100-428091  
SPEECH BY MIKHAIL SUSLOV AT THE  
SESSION OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 8, 1960

"As members of the drafting committee we should be concerned with preparing a collective document for the November meeting. We believe we can do it. Here I want to state ~~that~~ that the CPSU agrees with the proposal made by the Parties of the United States and Great Britain, to issue an appeal for peace. I would suggest that this committee be made up of comrades from the United States, Great Britain, France, Poland and others would be drawn in to work to prepare such a document. ✓

"The imperialists will try to split our ranks. We, on the other hand, must work for cohesion. We must do everything necessary to close our ranks. I want to warn the Chinese comrades that a fight has its own logic. Very often people say things and go further than they originally intended. Our guiding star is Marxism - Leninism. This is what keeps us united, solid and monolithic. We hope, on the basis of the teachings of Marxism - Leninism to solve all of our tasks."

The source advised that when Suslov finished speaking Hysni Kapo, member of the Politburo of the Albanian Party of Labor, jumped up and said that he objected to some of the remarks of Comrade Suslov, however, the delegates shouted him down.

The Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 1/3/61

REC-52

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau are 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing information concerning the sessions of the meeting of the Editorial Commission held in Moscow, Russia on October 5, 1960, with the exception of the speech of TENG Hsiao-ping on that date. The speech of TENG Hsiao-ping has been set forth in a separate letterhead memorandum.

The information in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/29/60. It is noted that only CG 5824-S\* and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN from the CP, USA participated in this meeting of the Editorial Commission. For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions in ReBulet.

GALE

EX-105

- ① - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 1 - New York (Encls. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 100-134637 (SOLO)  
 1 - Chicago  
 JEK:jem  
 (5)

REC-52

9 JAN 5 1961

E G Wick

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

51 JAN 24 1961 Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 3, 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF  
THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON  
OCTOBER 5, 1960

A source, who has furnished reliable information  
in the past, has furnished the following information.

The Commission to Prepare a Document for the  
November meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, also  
known as the Editorial Commission, met for the fourth day  
of sessions in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow,  
Russia on October 5, 1960. The Communist Party of the Soviet  
Union (CPSU) had made available to the delegates of the  
twenty six Communist and Workers' Parties present, an  
initial draft of a declaration.

Remarks of  
LE Zyan

The first speaker on October 5, 1960, was LE Zyan,  
member of the Politburo and the First Secretary of the  
Workers' Party of Viet Nam. The following is the essence  
of his remarks. Viet. Russia

"In the draft we have a good basis for discussion.  
The 1957 Moscow Declaration was a good one but we must develop  
that Declaration further to unite the international movement.  
We agree with the CPSU draft and its main provisions. We  
will, as we go along, outline our views on some problems we  
may want to extend or amend.

"We agree with the definition of the CPSU's draft  
on the character of our epoch. Although imperialism is  
decaying and weakened, it is still strong in a big part of  
the globe and is fighting to preserve itself. We believe  
in peaceful co-existence but imperialism interferes with  
us. We must strengthen the revolutionary movement in the  
capitalist countries in order to isolate the imperialist  
war makers. It is necessary to step up the struggle  
against imperialism and for this we need greater cooperation  
amongst the socialist countries for peace and disarmament.

~~TOP SECRET~~

ENCLOSURE

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-428091-1104



~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 5, 1960

~~TOP SECRET~~

We consider disarmament a militant slogan. But we regard it as a long term slogan. As long as imperialists will be in existence they will not disarm voluntarily.

"In Laos, there is a dependence on the masses as well as the armed struggle and the united front to gradually oust the imperialists. Flexibility prevents war in Indo-China. United States imperialism is trying new methods to bring back imperialist colonialism in these countries. They use force, bribery and corruption but some sections of the bourgeoisie are anti-feudal and anti-imperialist and are making active contributions to the forces of revolution that defend the independence. This prevents surrender to imperialism and to feudalism and thus lays the basis for a future transition to socialism.

"Our experience in revolution shows that winning the working peasantry guarantees the revolution if this is in alliance with the working class. This is the only way to get the progressive sections of the bourgeoisie to go along with the revolution and keep them from surrendering.

"We agree that there is a need for a peace manifesto. In this manifesto we should ask for uniting Korea and Viet Nam and for independence for Algeria.

"We agree that revisionism is still the main danger as stated in the 1957 Declaration but we need to fight sectarianism too.

"The Central Committee of the CPSU (CCCPSU) is the center of the world revolutionary movement. Unity of all the socialist and workers' Parties is necessary. Unity of the CPSU and the Communist Party of China (CPC) is most vital. The U.S.S.R. is the homeland of Leninism. China was the first semi-colonial country that carried through a revolution and transformed a backward country into a modern one. We must have unity of the CPSU and the CPC. The

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 5, 1960

~~TOP SECRET~~

class enemy will profit from lack of cohesion in our ranks. We cannot go along on this negative line. We all base ourselves on Marxism-Leninism. When differences arise, let us talk it over. Let us not broadcast it to the world. We should also avoid imposing views on other Parties and strive to avoid conflicts between socialist states."

Remarks of Vladimir  
Koitski

*Czech  
Russia*

The source advised that ~~TENG Hsiao-ping~~, General Secretary of the CPC, was the next speaker on October 5, 1960. Because of the length of his remarks, they have been set forth elsewhere. TENG Hsiao-ping was followed by Vladimir Koitski, a Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. In July, 1960, an amendment to the Constitution of Czechoslovakia, described Czechoslovakia as a socialist republic. The following is the essence of the remarks of Koitski.

"Thanks to the upsurge of the socialist camp, we were able to codify ourselves as a socialist state.

"This is the epoch of competition between socialism and capitalism. This is a new era in the crisis of capitalism. The slogan, a world without wars, and without arms, is a humanist slogan and will meet with response throughout the world.

"Local wars can lead to world war, therefore, it is necessary to fight to prevent local wars. The West Germany militarists would like to strangle the German Democratic Republic. United States imperialism would like to smash Cuba. It would like to do it through a local war. Of course, such a war would have wider consequences. We must understand this as well as the imperialists. The draft document must fight West German militarism and imperialism.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 5, 1960

~~TOP SECRET~~

"We should put forth slogans that will unite the peoples of Europe, all who had suffered from German fascism. We must give more support to the German Democratic Republic. This is where the front line against aggression is now. Peaceful co-existence, in essence, is anti-imperialist. Peaceful co-existence separates new and independent nations from military blocs and for peace. We must therefore, more actively advance peaceful co-existence. No socialist country can solve its task in an isolated way by itself. We should use cooperation and all around mutual assistance.

"The Czechoslovakian delegation whole heartedly agrees with the section of the draft which shows the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism. The peaceful way will more readily win allies for socialism. The peaceful way does not exclude great class struggles. The Czechoslovakian experience showed a possibility of peaceful transition. We won the workers to our side. We had great influence in parliament and we were able to change the armed apparatus from one serving the bourgeoisie to one serving the people. In 1948, when counter-revolution tried a coup, the armed workers rallied behind the Party.

"Despite the outside support for the counter-revolution, the reactionaries, were smashed and their influence dissipated. We even used pre-revolutionary laws and parliament to seal their defeat. At that time we were charged both by Matyas Rakosi of Hungary and by the Titoists of Yugoslavia with opportunism and the spreading of illusions. But that did not prevent us from going ahead with a revolution in the way that was best suited for our country.

"The various Parties will implement policy on the basis of the general documents we work out here, as well as the Moscow Declaration of 1957, but they will have to take the peculiarities of their countries into consideration. Cuba and its revolution might serve as a good example.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 5, 1960

~~TOP SECRET~~

" The delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia objects to the CPC attitude toward the CPSU and Comrade Khrushchev. Such an attitude hurts our unity. How do the Chinese Comrades reconcile this with their statement that the CPSU is the "head Party". The fact is that they do not agree that there should be a center of international unity amongst all the fraternal Parties."

Remarks of Zenon Kliszko

The next speaker was Zenon Kliszko, member of the Politburo of the Polish United Workers' Party. The following is the essence of his remarks. *R453.1A POBAND*

"The Polish delegation agrees with the CPSU draft and the unanimous adoption of it as a basis for discussion. Peaceful co-existence is the center of our foreign policy.

"Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party has said that the policy of peace can be carried through by capitalist states as well as socialist states. The point is we do not want the cold war or a hot war. We are already seeing the positive effects of Gomulka's, Khrushchev's and other socialist leader's visits to the capitalist countries (attendance at the Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations).

"I agree with the other speakers who put emphasis on the prevention of local wars. Local wars can and must be prevented. If this was an impossibility then Cuba could not be in existence for a few weeks let alone for a few years. Local wars can spread to a world war. We have to fight both.

"Peaceful transition is most profitable for the working class but we should be prepared for both forms, peaceful and violent, but remember that as capitalism gets weaker and socialism stronger, the possibilities of intervention against the revolution decrease.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 5, 1960

"Unity of action, particularly in foreign policy, is essential amongst the social states. Now there is close cooperation on this as well as in the economic and other fields. The new relations between us are based on proletarian internationalism. We are surprised that the Chinese Comrades are challenging this concept now although the draft proposes to strengthen this section.

"We are glad that the 20th Congress of the CPSU dealt with the cult of personality. In getting rid of the Stalin cult, the relations between the Polish Party and the CPSU as well as the relations between our governments, are good.

"The CPSU and Comrade Khrushchev command our respect, the respect of our entire Party and people.

"We have some proposals for the draft which we will give to the secretariat. Chinese Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping raised a number of questions that sounded contradictory to the first part of his speech when he claimed that he agrees with the draft as a basis. The part dealing with war and peace in Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping's speech seemed very contradictory. In the last war, Poland lost every fifth person. This was a war without nuclear weapons. How can we approach our people with the kind of propaganda that the Chinese Comrades use and which puts the emphasis on war. There are millions of Poles living in the United States. How could we approach them, even talk to them, unless we counteract the capitalist war propaganda. The Chinese method would make it impossible for us to do so.

"The Chinese Comrades repeated that revisionism is the main danger but if I heard them correctly, they said that dogmatism is non-existent. I believe that the Chinese Comrades exaggerate the revolutionary possibilities in many parts of the world. Some Chinese comrades talk about the revolutionary peoples in the United States. We do not know where they get such ideas. We need more objective appraisals of situations. We cannot create situations to suit ourselves."

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 5, 1960

~~TOP SECRET~~

This speech by Kliszko concluded the sessions of  
October 5, 1960.

This document contains neither recommendations nor  
conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the  
property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned  
to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed  
outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 1/5/60

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum concerning the sessions of the meeting of the Editorial Commission held in Moscow, Russia on 10/7/60.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN by CG 5824-S\* on 12/30/60. It is noted that only CG 5824-S\* and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN from the CP, USA, participated in this meeting of the Editorial Commission. For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions in ReBulet.

GALE

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - New York (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
100-134637 (SOLO)  
1 - Chicago  
JEK:jem  
(5)

REC-33  
100-134637-704

ENCLOSURE

Let [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]  
A151.4 with one  
of encls to each  
11/2/61 JWE:KMD

REC-33

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M

62 JAN 24 1961





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 5, 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 7, 1960

A source, who has furnished reliable information  
in the past, has furnished the following information.

The Commission to Prepare a Document for the  
November meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, also  
known as the Editorial Commission, met for the sixth day  
of sessions in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow,  
Russia on October 7, 1960. The Communist Party of the  
Soviet Union (CPSU) had made available to the delegates  
of the twenty six Communist and Workers' Parties present,  
the initial draft of a declaration.

Remarks of Peter Borila

On October 7, 1960, Frol Kozlov substituted for  
Mikhail Suslov as chairman of the meeting. Both are members  
of the Presidium and Secretaries of the Central Committee  
of the CPSU (CCPSU).

Peter Borila, member of the Politburo of the  
Rumanian Workers' Party was the first speaker. The follow-  
ing is the essence of his remarks.

"I agree with the CPSU draft we have before us. I  
agree with the characterization of the epoch, with the  
sections on war and peace, peaceful co-existence, and the  
general line of the draft. I want to take issue with  
TENG Hsiao-ping. It is the opinion of the Rumanian delegation  
that the Chinese statements that they agree with the draft  
are only perfunctory.

"The Chinese thesis is erroneous and denies the  
possibility of peaceful co-existence. We ask the Chinese  
Comrades which of the twenty six Parties present here ever  
denied the war danger. Who, then, are you aiming at? Do  
you mean the CPSU, those people who sacrificed and lost more  
than anyone else in the last war? Take a good look at the  
draft, Comrades. The war preparations of the imperialists  
are clearly stated.

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-428091

ENCLOSURE

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

U.S.S.R.

ROUTED TO  
U.S.S.R.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 7, 1960

"It is the Chinese Communists who are under-  
estimating United States imperialism, especially when they  
propound their ideas about the 'paper tiger'. This is  
wrong. There are contradictions in the Chinese Comrades'  
reasoning. On the one hand they deny that peaceful co-  
existence is possible. On the other hand, they under-  
estimate United States imperialism. Who creates illusions?  
Which slogan would be a mobilizing one?" ✓

"The Rumanian Workers' Party denies the charge of  
great nation chauvinism made by the Chinese against the  
CPSU. This is what the Yugoslavian revisionists say. This  
attack of yours spearheads the attack against the world  
Communist movement.

"Since TENG Hsiao-ping raised some questions about  
socialist construction, I want to raise some questions  
regarding the material basis for socialist construction.  
We consider that the Chinese aimed their attack not only  
against the CPSU but against the policy and line of the  
Rumanian Workers' Party. This type of attack has no basis  
in fact but it does disrupt the unity of the socialist camp.  
This breaks the solidarity of the world Communist movement.  
We would like to urge the Communist Party of China (CPC)  
not to remain deaf to the appeals of the other Parties.  
We want to plead with you to help unite the world Communist  
movement. Albanian Comrade Kapo insulted all of the Parties  
which were present at Bucharest. He is completely wrong,  
when he denies the usefulness of that meeting. Without  
Bucharest, we would have been unable to prepare this meeting."

Remarks of Alberti  
Gonzales Paulino

The next speaker was Alberti Gonzales Paulino,  
member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of  
Argentina. The following is the essence of his remarks.

U.S.S.R.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 7, 1960

"I approve the declaration of the CCCPSU, which is before us now. The Argentinian capitalists would like a war. They want to sell a lot of goods and get rich quick, so they can repeat what happened in the last war. In the Latin American situation, there are dangers of local wars. The Communist Party of Argentina is mobilizing all the people, including sections of the national bourgeoisie, for a struggle against imperialism. This mobilization goes on side by side with and is a part of a struggle for peace.

"I believe, speaking for our Party, that the charge of great power chauvinism, leveled at the Soviet Union by the Chinese Comrades, is wrong and insulting. Does some other Party want to assume leadership and replace the CPSU, with the false assertion that the CPSU has abandoned Marxism-Leninism? What about help to Cuba? Who gave this help? If the Chinese Comrades would think and not be so subjective, they could give us the answers to these questions.

"I want to say something about the Albanian Comrades. All they did was repeat the arguments of the Chinese and they are repeating infantile leftism. If we were to listen to them, we would not be able to work in any mass organization. The Albanian Comrades insulted all of the Parties. The Communist Party of Argentina fights both revisionism and sectarianism and we are of the opinion that one or the other can become the main danger. Therefore, we should fight against all deviations. We, from the Communist Party of Argentina, are fighting for agreement here. We hope we can unite on the basis of principle."

Remarks of Khaled Bakdash

The next speaker was ~~Khaled Bakdash~~, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Syria. The following is the essence of his remarks.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~SECRET~~

USISIR

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 7, 1960

"I agree with the draft of the CPSU. We should put more emphasis in this draft on the role of the U.S.S.R. and the aid it is giving to many countries, in order to show that it embodies the hopes of all peoples. At the present time, the world Communist movement has no international coordinating body. But the CPSU, better than any other Party or anyone else, can give guidance and leadership to our movement. No one can replace the CPSU. No one else is capable of doing it.

"The chief task of all peoples is to struggle for peace. Imperialism can transform local wars into a World war. The imperialists are afraid of the slogan of peaceful co-existence. Therefore, the fight for peace, for disarmament, for the banning of nuclear bombs, etc, is important to all peoples.

"Now I would like to say a few words about the role of the national bourgeoisie. It is quite likely that there will soon be an explosion against Nasser's dictatorship in Syria. We must have some clarity on the question of the role of the national bourgeoisie. In some countries, Comrades wanted to skip stages and made some leftist mistakes because they wanted to go from the national democratic revolution straight to socialism. I would place this problem as follows:

- 1) The chief task is independence from imperialism.
- 2) The national bourgeoisie will not solve this problem by itself.
- 3) We unite with some sections of the bourgeoisie and fight through unity for democratic and economic independence.
- 4) The people are mobilized and urged to participate in the affairs of state and in the making of policy.
- 5) We cement the alliance between the working classes and the peasantry.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 7, 1960

"The imperialists usually work with the right wing of the capitalist class and the reactionary landlords. Even when a country gets its independence, the establishment of state capitalism is not enough. It is the task of the Communists and the working class to show the path to socialism.

"The Nasser policies have been adventurous policies. His policy of uniting Syria and Egypt has proven bankrupt and the people are beginning to see this. Pan-Arab unity is not a good slogan and we should help to expose this.

"Now I will say a few words about the Chinese Comrades. Speaking for the Communist Party of Syria, I want to express my anger about the speech of TENG Hsiao-ping. His accusations against the CPSU are slanderous, especially the charge of great power chauvinism. If the CPSU is chauvinistic, then who is an internationalist? The booklet put out by the Chinese Comrades and called 'Long Live Leninism', is not in keeping with Marxism-Leninism or with the Moscow Declaration of 1957. Why did TENG Hsiao-ping emphasize a lot of small things here, such as the withdrawal of the specialists? Are these the main things before us? Can it be that the CPC, having in mind that China has the biggest population, feels it should therefore lead our movement? Maybe this is big nation chauvinism.

"Are the Chinese Comrades trying to destroy the CPSU? The CPSU is the leading Party, the most experienced Party of all. It has proven its international solidarity since the time of its existence. It is proving it now every day by the practical aid it gives to backward countries and sometimes this is done at the expense of the needs of the Russian people.

"The Chinese Comrades started a drive right after the 90th Anniversary of Lenin's birth. They charged all who did not agree with them as being revisionists. We have been receiving letters from Syrian Comrades who are in China. They tell us about the pressure being placed on them in the same way that pressure had been put on the specialists of the U.S.S.R. No wonder the U.S.S.R. has withdrawn its specialists from China.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 7, 1960

"Albanian Comrade Kapo sometimes speaks of the need for an entirely new text book on Marxism-Leninism. The Albanian delegate seems to be guided by emotion instead of analysis.

"Despite our differences I hope that this meeting and the November meeting will lead to the unity of our movement."

Remarks of Mario Alves

EX-100000 1925

The next speaker was Mario Alves, member of the Presidium and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil. Alves is approximately 35 years of age and speaks some English. The following is the essence of his remarks.

018211  
U.S.S.R.

"We agree with the basic draft given to us by the CCCPSU. At the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Brazil, held only some weeks ago, Comrade Luis Carlos Prestes stressed the importance of preventing war, the need for peaceful co-existence and the importance of the peace policy of the socialist camp.

"We should introduce the experience of other Parties into the draft. The Cuban revolution is the most important contribution to the cause of peace. It showed that United States imperialism cannot count on Latin America to support its policies. United States imperialism has used the cold war to impose the most horrible conditions upon the peoples of Latin America. We believe that peaceful co-existence creates favorable conditions and encourages the anti-imperialist and democratic front.

"Regarding peaceful transition, we think that under some conditions this may be possible, but we should be aware of resistance on the part of the bourgeoisie. We in Brazil are now concentrating on legal means of struggle. For 10 years, even when there were possibilities to use legal means, our Party engaged in sectarian methods. We used to urge armed struggle and thus isolated ourselves from the masses. Even in some semi-colonial countries, the

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 7, 1960

possibility exists for a peaceful transition to socialism. Perhaps the Cuban situation is different. While we think of peaceful transition, we should be ready for other eventualities. If we stress the peaceful way now, we will strengthen ourselves for the later struggle.

"In our Party, we were fighting revisionism several years ago. This revisionism was a reaction to sectarianism. Since the sectarians lacked a self-critical approach, we could not fight revisionism effectively. We fought on one front. That is, the leadership of our Party fought on one front. This allowed sectarianism to flourish. It was only later that we began to fight on two fronts, and defeated the revisionists. We always need to fight on two fronts but sometimes we have to stress one or another deviation. At the present time we think sectarianism is the main danger in our Party.

"I disagree with Comrade Bakdash on his concept of the national democratic state. Perhaps this is the prospect for some dependent states but I doubt its validity for all countries. Some countries are different. In some countries we do have an anti-imperialist democratic front.

"I had hoped at the beginning of TENG Hsiao-ping's speech that there was some hope for possible agreement. I disagree with the Chinese Comrades and while I am not completely discouraged, I believe we will have to do more to achieve unity. My Party told me to stick to principles but to try to do everything possible to bring about unity. I hope the Chinese Comrades will understand us and cooperate."

Remarks of Kenji Miyamoto

Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Japan was the next speaker. The following is the essence of his remarks:

JAPAN-7-

U.S.S.R.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 7, 1960

"The Seventh Convention of the Communist Party of Japan in 1958, confirmed in life, the Moscow Declaration and Peace Manifesto of 1957. We support the draft of the CPSU. We want to say something about war, peace, and national independence. United States imperialism is the aggressor, trampling on the sovereignty of all nations. I could quote from the draft a statement which shows that United States imperialism is the chief aggressor. This fact is already indicated in the Moscow Declaration and the Peace Manifesto.

"The United States has imposed a treaty on us. It has bases in Japan. We are surrounded by nuclear weapons. The United States has revived all of the monopolies in our country, even the ones that were to be destroyed after the war. In this way, Japan has been made dependent on United States imperialism. Our struggle for the revision of the treaty was at the same time and still is a struggle for independence.

"Our Party consistently opposed United States domination. The social democrats and the Trotskyists saw only the native monopolies. We saw both, including United States imperialism. United States imperialism is our direct enemy. We appealed to the people of Japan to take action against the Eisenhower visit and at the same time we organized to fight the treaty. Some social democratic leaders hesitated at first but after the U-2 was shot down over the U.S.S.R., they agreed with us.

"The United States-Japan treaty is aimed at the U.S.S.R. and China, as well as other countries of Asia. At the same time, it is a threat to Japan itself. The protests of the U.S.S.R. and China regarding the treaty were an inspiration to our struggle and the people of Japan.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 7, 1960

"It is correct, as the 1957 Manifesto points out, and as we do now, to consider the fight for peace as the main aim. Recently there were numerous conferences in Japan with wide representation. These conferences came out against nuclear war. We believe we can fight to prevent war. We are telling the people that the United States bases in Japan have turned our country into a prime target for atomic attack. The people are listening and the prospects to avert war look good.

"In our Party we will fight two deviations and these are:

1) The revisionists, those who claim that imperialism has changed. Some of these people even say that the easing of tensions is a result of a change on the part of the United States.

2) We are fighting the Trotskyist deviation. There are some people, like the Trotskyists, who are against peaceful co-existence. They call this 'compromising with imperialism'. We recently had to expel a few people who gave voice to these ideas. ✓

"The struggle to defend peace is the main task and must be linked with the fight for independence and freedom. Without national independence, there will be no peace because we are linked by military agreements with imperialism. Some of our land is occupied by the United States. American ships can come to any Japanese port even if they carry atomic cargoes.

"I agree with the analysis of the present epoch in the CPSU draft.

"We believe that more stress is needed on the tasks of the Parties which are struggling in the capitalist countries. The Japanese peoples' struggle is gaining momentum. But we have not yet succeeded in ousting the United States or in breaking the military alliance. In

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 7, 1960

October, we had the big wave of protest, which is continuing, against the United States-Japan treaty. Pacifity in this period is dangerous. We need a more comprehensive explanation of the crisis of capitalism, the new features and the contradictions. We must not forget that the imperialists still dominate a large section of the world. This is why we should enlarge on this section of the draft.

“In Japan, the Trotskyists have penetrated the student movements. They did a lot of harm and counter-revolutionary damage to these movements.

“Japan is not a typical colony and, not since World War II, is it a capitalist country in the Western European sense. . It is now a country to a large extent dependent on the United States.

“What is the line of the Communist Party of Japan? It is to establish a broad democratic front in keeping with what we said in the Moscow Declaration and what is said in the present draft.

“We believe that the forthcoming revolution in Japan will develop along socialist lines. We have now developed some unity of action with the Japanese Socialist Party on a national scale. This gave our struggle a very broad scope despite the sabotage by the top leadership of the Socialist Party. We have in Japan a united front of 100 mass organizations with the Communist Party included. This threatened to isolate the Socialist Party of Japan. They were, therefore, compelled to join. Two hundred thousand local organizations that conduct daily struggles on various issues have been established in Japan. This made it difficult for the Socialist Party of Japan to break the united front. We, the Japanese Communists, displayed a lot of patience. United States imperialism began to penetrate and influence the Socialist Party, and caused some hesitation amongst its leadership but finally the Socialist Party was forced, through mass pressure, to renounce the United States-Japan alliance.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 7, 1960

~~TOP SECRET~~

"On the question of transition to socialism, we favor the two ways, as it is placed in this draft and was placed in the prior Moscow Declaration. We favor the peaceful way but the imperialists will interfere and the socialist camp may have to play a role.

"Regarding the peace manifesto, we are going to draw up, we would suggest that we insert something on national liberation into that document. We have respect for the Chinese revolution and the CPC. If we do not achieve unity here, it will help the imperialists. It could even cause a split in our Party. It would be costly. On a world-wide scale it would be much more damaging. The Japanese delegation would like to suggest that we carry on our work in this conference in a more friendly spirit, even when we are in disagreement. Let us not argue over small things. Let us try to discuss the basic problems."

The source advised that the Communist Party of Japan is engaged in a factional fight. The majority favors emphasis on the democratic front and national independence with the idea of socialism as something for the future. The concentration must, first of all, be against United States imperialism in an effort to win over the nationalists in Japan, including sections of the bourgeoisie. The minority faction states that the chief enemy is domestic monopoly capitalism and that it is necessary to unequivocally put forth a program for socialism.

Remarks of LEE He-soon

The next speaker was ~~LEE He-soon~~, member of the Presidium of the Korean Party of Labor. The following is the essence of his remarks:

"The draft contains a good contents on the whole and is in the spirit of the Moscow Declaration. The Korean delegation agrees with the draft on the analysis of the epoch and the world situation. The struggle that took place in South Korea recently proved a lesson that we must not forget. That is, that if the people unite, they can

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

Korea  
U.S.S.R

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 7, 1960

deliver blows against United States imperialism. Next to emphasizing the gains of socialism, we need to show the disintegration of the colonial system.

"The United States imperialists have brought into South Korea, rockets and other atomic weapons. We know that they are generally preparing for aggression. If we are able to resist and hold back the imperialists, it is because we derive strength from the cohesion of the socialist camp which is headed by the U.S.S.R.

"We must unite the world Communist camp. The imperialists are trying to drive a wedge between the various socialist countries. The Korean Party of Labor follows the Moscow Declaration on international solidarity. The U.S.S.R. stands as the chief guardian of the socialist world. The Chinese Peoples' Republic gave us great help. We say, therefore, that unity and cohesion are needed, with the U.S.S.R. at the head. We should expose the agents of imperialism who are predicting a weakening of our unity.

"The fraternal Parties should adhere to the non-interference in the internal affairs of the various Parties and at the same time should apply proletarian internationalism in their daily work."

Remarks of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

The next speaker was Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a Vice Chairman and member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA). The following is the essence of her remarks.

N.Y.  
U.S.S.R.

"I endorse the draft of the CPSU, however there is some phraseology in it that the American CP would not agree with. There is too much on the dictatorship of the proletariat. There is also too much emphasis on the violent means of achieving socialism in contrast to the peaceful transition to socialism.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 7, 1960.

"I do not object to the dictatorship of the proletariat in principle but many comrades went to jail because it was placed in this form. I hope that the declaration can give the contents of the meaning of the dictatorship of the proletariat without creating a scare or placing the CP, USA in legal jeopardy. There is a hearing before the highest court in the United States at the present time and this hearing involves this problem. Therefore, I am not sure that the CP, USA will be able to endorse any resolutions that may be adopted here.

"I disagree with the Chinese Comrades. If we were to follow the line of the Chinese Comrades and not emphasize the horrors of atomic war, whatever peace movements exist in the United States would shy away from anyone who would preach war or would emphasize that the consequences are not as horrible as the imperialist propagandists say they are.

"In regard to Comrade Khrushchey, I recently read some Chinese document which makes an attack on him. I think this attack is wrong and unfair. Comrade Khrushchey does not merely talk of the virtues of peace and Communism, but he goes out to do battle. Right now he is in the United States. Despite the hostile press in the United States, he gets a hearing, introduces proposals at the United Nations, and appears on radio and television. He has brought the ideas of Communism to millions and millions of people as he did on a prior trip. He may have done more in a propaganda way in his brief visit than the American Communists have been able to do in the many years of the existence of the CP, USA. The world Communist movement ought to give Comrade Khrushchey a vote of thanks for his bravery, clarity, and dexterity in fighting for the cause of peace and Communism and against colonialism in the United Nations.

"I am sorry to disagree with the Chinese Comrades but I think they are damaging the world Communist movement. I get the impression that the Chinese Comrades do not care what happens to the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. I hope that the Chinese Comrades will see that their policy is not being accepted by the overwhelming

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETINGS OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 7, 1960

~~TOP SECRET~~

majority of the Parties. I hope that they will not use the dangerous idea that a minority of today can be proven to be right tomorrow and therefore, it does not have to abide by the majority decisions. I cannot conceive of a Communist movement without majority rule.

"I hope that the Chinese will quit their attacks against the CPSU, Comrade Khrushchev and the other Communist Parties and abide by the majority decision."

The remarks of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn concluded the sessions of October 7, 1960.

The CP, USA has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: January 13, 1961

FROM : R. O. L'Allier

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson	✓
Mohr	✓
Parsons	✓
Belmont	✓
Callahan	✓
DeLoach	✓
Malone	✓
McGuire	✓
Rosen	✓
Tamm	✓
Trotter	✓
W.C. Sullivan	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Ingram	✓
Gandy	✓

You may be interested in the following comments which were volunteered to Agent Papich on January 12, 1961, by Allen Dulles concerning the sensitive information which was developed by CG-5824.

Dulles had just completed reading the informant's report of informal remarks which had been made by Khrushchev relative to the Soviet-Chinese conflict. He referred to the information as "extremely valuable" and characterized the source as being "simply incredible and amazing." He added that the intelligence community badly needed information of the type being developed by the source, and he recognized that everything possible should be done to handle the information on a strictly need-to-know basis. Dulles stated that within his own Agency he has issued instructions that copies not be made of Bureau communications and that the letter or report be carried by hand to an appropriate official. After it is read the document again is returned by hand and is retained in the Office of James Angleton, Chief Counterintelligence.

ACTION:

For information.

SJP:ban  
(7)

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Papich

REC-43

EX. - 102

100-428091-1106  
13 JAN 17 1961

63 JAN 19 1961

COPY TO MR. TOLSON

FBI

Date: 1/4/61

REC-71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division 1 copy of a letterhead memorandum concerning the sessions of the meeting of the Editorial Commission held at Moscow, Russia, on 10/6/60.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/29/60 and 12/30/60. It is noted that only CG 5824-S\* and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN from the Communist Party, USA participated in this meeting of the Editorial Commission. For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bureau letter dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions in referenced Bureau letter.

GALE

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 1 - Chicago

JEK:MAM  
(5)

25 JAN 17 1961

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

50 JAN 24 1961





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~TOP SECRET~~

Washington, D.C.  
January 4, 1961

100-428091

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE MEETING  
OF THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA, ON  
OCTOBER 6, 1960

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

The Commission to Prepare a Document for the November Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, also known as the Editorial Commission, met for the fifth day of sessions in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia, on October 6, 1960. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) had made available to the delegates of the 26 Communist and Workers' Parties present an initial draft of a declaration.

Remarks of Raymond Guyot

The first speaker on October 6, 1960, was Raymond Guyot, member of the Politburo of the French Communist Party. The following is the essence of his remarks:

"I greet the CPSU and thank you for the initiative to convene this conference of the world Communist Parties. This conference will influence the working class struggle the world over. All remember that the 1957 Moscow Declaration and Peace Manifesto had a profound influence, the Manifesto especially, among very wide circles of people.

"The prestige of the U.S.S.R., its successes, have inspired all socialist countries. The socialist successes have inspired the anti-colonial movement and the working class struggle.

"United States imperialism has suffered some defeats and setbacks in its cold war policy. This has resulted in some

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-428091-1107

ENCLOSURE

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF  
THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA, ON  
OCTOBER 6, 1960

moments of relaxation of tensions. Of course, there is still the possibility to go to war or to avert war. Our task will be facilitated by the draft given to us by the CPSU. Our delegation has approved the draft. This document is a good analysis of the contemporary situation. The part dealing with the present epoch is very clear. The socialist camp has made some proposals at the United Nations. The trip of the socialist leaders to attend the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations was a real initiative. It came from the Soviet Union and it compelled even some imperialists like Eisenhower and others to attend. Although the imperialists can still maneuver, as in the Congo, the fact remains that they have been set back.

"The initiative of the Soviet Union convinces the masses that the socialist states stand for peace. This demonstrates that socialism is superior to capitalism. If the people believe in the inevitability of war, they are immobilized. The main task of every Party is to fight for peace. Khrushchev's visit to France exposed the imperialists. His visit also exposed intervention in the colonies and it weakened the war against the colonial people who are fighting for liberation.

"Let us remember that the upheavals in South Korea, Turkey and Japan took place in a period when there was easing of tension. Comrade Khrushchev's visit to France helped Communism. I am sure that the comrades from the United States will tell us the same. More than that, the visit exposed the lies of the imperialists that the Soviet Union only wants a respite, then it will attack again, etc.

"Do you call these illusions, Chinese comrades? In the last war the Soviet Union lost 17 million people. In economic terms the Soviets lost two 5-year plans. They lost thousands of cities and towns. Communism cannot build on the ruins of a waste land. The class struggle is still with us. So is imperialism. But the relation and balance of forces has changed.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF  
THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA, ON  
OCTOBER 6, 1960

The imperialists are the ones who are afraid of peaceful co-existence. The 20th Congress of the CPSU noted a swing to anti-colonialism and projected its end. The camp of socialism makes possible such victories. The new nations could not have gone as far as they have if not for the defense by the socialist camp. The people in these new countries will not tolerate betrayal. Khrushchev has exposed Nasser although the U.S.S.R. and the United Arab Republic continue to have state relations. The workers in the big capitalist countries should help the workers in the newly established countries to fight for democracy.

"On the question of De Gaulle and personal power, we now have a basis in France for a wide coalition to liberate the country from the regime of personal power. If we declared now for a revolution it would isolate us. Our Party asks for more basic democracy and for control of the monopolies. We do not create illusions as the social democrats do.

"On the forms of transition, our delegation would say that the forms should vary. We would have to take into consideration the conditions in a certain country, the traditions, etc. The forms of transition would also depend on the relation of forces at that particular time. The 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU made a big contribution on this question. The Moscow Declaration of 1957 dealing with this very question is today still fully valid.

"We examined this problem carefully. Each country has its own way but we are convinced that history demonstrates that progress is impossible without struggle. At the 14th Congress of our Party we pointed out that we will not abandon the idea of transition to socialism through parliament, but even if we stick to the idea of peaceful transition the bourgeoisie will never give up without a fight. Recognizing this, we reject opportunism.

"We keep in mind that there can be a revolutionary upheaval in parliament and outside of parliament. At all times,

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF  
THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA, ON  
OCTOBER 6, 1960

however, we keep in mind that the struggle for socialism is closely tied with the struggle for democracy.

"I want to place myself in opposition to some of the ideas expressed by Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping. You said no Party should dictate or be the sole contributor to Marxism-Leninism. You meant the CPSU. Your allegations are an insult. What other Party played such a magnificent role? Who shed so much blood? Who made more Leninist contributions? How do you reconcile this with your repeated statements that the CPSU is the head of the world Communist movement?

"I was at your 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and I remember you endorsed the 20th Congress of the CPSU. In November, 1957, the theses of the 20th Congress were endorsed by the world Parties. Why do you now raise doubts and suspicions? Your position, if you persist, will hurt the movement of all the Communist Parties and the CPSU.

"Chinese comrades, consider these things as brothers, not as a minority or majority. Your accusation against the U.S.S.R. of great nation chauvinism is too much. You have gone too far. How can you do this after all the help you received from the U.S.S.R.? The French Communist Party attacks your methods used in Peking when the World Federation of Trade Unions met there. We are also against the methods in the peace councils. Our central committee wants unity very much, especially now in the present world situation. The Declaration of November, 1957, helped all the Parties. The revisionists were defeated and unity was strengthened. We hope that the labors of our conference will result in unanimity."

Remarks of Hysni Kapo

*Albania  
Russia*

The next speaker was Hysni Kapo, member of the Politburo of the Albanian Party of Labor. The following is the essence of his remarks:

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF  
THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA, ON  
OCTOBER 6, 1960

"The meeting which was held in Bucharest was premature. It was not useful. The propositions that came out of the meeting were incorrect. At Bucharest a drive was started against the CPC and it aggravated all differences. Now the differences have gone beyond Parties. They have affected states as well as non-Party organizations.

"The draft document before us has many false interpretations. We need some unity of understanding on the character of the epoch. The draft document underestimates the forces of the enemy. We need a more clear-cut definition on what is aid to the socialist countries. We need a clearer understanding of equality and an understanding that there should be no interference in each other's internal affairs, although we strengthen our solidarity.

"There are some other doubtful formulas in the draft before us. War is a social and political phenomenon. The draft document is very unclear on how to prevent a world war. If we speak of preventing wars in general, this could mean we can avert civil wars or national wars, etc. The idea of a world without arms and wars put forth as an idea by the CPSU is incorrect. Wars will take place as long as imperialism exists. This is how it was stated in the Moscow Declaration (of 1957).

"The fear of the disastrous consequences of a nuclear war is anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist. The way you talk about the CPC is an insult to the Chinese Party. It is absurd to confine the entire struggle against imperialism to the fight for co-existence. What we need is more struggle against imperialism. Peaceful co-existence can be applied only as between socialist and capitalist countries and does not apply between socialist states. If one believes this applies to socialist states, this is opportunism. That is the way it is embodied in the plan of the Yugoslav revisionist leader, Edward Kardelj. The Communist Parties in the capitalist countries should fight for peaceful co-existence but at the same time continue the class struggle at a higher level. The national liberation struggles should and must continue.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF  
THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA, ON  
OCTOBER 6, 1960

"Part Five of the draft presented to us by the CPSU, which deals with revisionism and dogmatism, is erroneous. Who are the social democrats? How do we cooperate with them? We have to isolate them and expose them but the draft is not clear on this.

"The present draft praises the peaceful way as the only way to socialism. That is wrong. The main problem of the socialist revolution is power. It is mandatory to struggle for power, therefore, the revolutionary way is the only way.

"Revisionism is still with us. More has to be said about Yugoslav revisionism. The draft needs to emphasize that Yugoslavia is the vanguard of revisionism. We should also very definitely state that Yugoslavia is not the 13th socialist state. It is not a socialist state."

Remarks of Hermann Matern

*GERMANY  
Russia*

Hermann Matern, member of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, was the next speaker. The following is the essence of his remarks:

"Albanian Comrade Kapo said that the Bucharest meeting was no good. At that meeting we re-endorsed the Moscow Declaration, at least the three main provisions of that document. Here we have started with a good draft which we unanimously accepted as a basis. Comrade Mikhail Suslov was correct in giving the character of the epoch and showing how this determines where we are going. The historical development from capitalism to socialism marks a new path to victory. The socialist system is the decisive factor in this epoch. The experiences in Germany bear out the theses of victorious socialism.

"TENG Hsiao-ping said that the decisions of Congresses of Parties do not apply to other countries. He meant to say the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU do not apply.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF  
THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA, ON  
OCTOBER 6, 1960

"On economic cooperation, in February, 1960, it was decided that a European Socialist Council of Mutual Aid be set up. We also, at the first meeting of this Council, said that there is an over-abundance of agricultural products in the European section of the socialist world. Our aim was and is later to spread this over-abundance beyond the countries of Europe into Asia. The thesis in the draft before us will make it possible to develop this type of cooperation on a higher stage.

"The Socialist Unity Party of Germany agrees with the draft and its general line on peace and peaceful co-existence. This must be the law of the present epoch. Ten to fifteen years of peaceful economic development would secure for us superiority over capitalism and prevent war.

"The Communists must lead the fight for peace as saviors. We must do this to prevent humanity from suffering the horrible atomic death. The Trotskyists in West Germany are fighting the theory of peaceful co-existence. Why do not the Chinese comrades expose this, emphasize this instead of weakening the section of the draft dealing with peaceful co-existence? Adenauer, the militarists and neo-fascists of West Germany oppose the thesis of co-existence. They are planning local wars against the German Democratic Republic, against Czechoslovakia and against Poland.

"What do the Chinese comrades mean by majority and minority and non-submission? Are they thinking of the old historical period when Lenin fought Plekhanov and Kautsky and would not submit to these opportunists? Since the Communist Parties have been founded and Marxism-Leninism is our basis, while each Party works out its own policy, we are all subject to some general principles. That is Marxism-Leninism.

"What do the Chinese comrades want? Only that their opinions should prevail? We reject this idea. Why do they

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF  
THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA, ON  
OCTOBER 6, 1960

speaking of splits when we are speaking of unity? Why are the Chinese comrades against the use of the phrase, national Communism? Why do they object to this? It existed and does exist. Why do they call this revisionism? Of course, it is true that revisionism has been routed ideologically. Why not admit it? This is a fact. Lenin, in his day, routed opportunism but it was and remained a danger.

"I would ask the Chinese comrades a question. Do the Chinese comrades doubt their alliance with the U.S.S.R.? Did not Comrade Khrushchev say that China would be defended if it is attacked just as any other socialist state would be defended if it is attacked. The Chinese comrades are putting too much stress on military preparations, on defense, etc. They are giving too little attention to the question of peaceful competition. We emphasize economic competition with capitalism.

"Regarding the question of communes in China, such communes would not correspond to or be any good in the conditions that prevail in the German Democratic Republic. We are following Lenin's plan of cooperatives. We would say that Lenin's plan applies to every country. The enemy uses the existence of the peoples' communes in China in order to fight the Communists in the German Democratic Republic and in all other countries. We want no publicity for the communes in our country. Besides, there is not enough historical experience for these communes to talk about their validity."

Remarks of George Matthews

*England Rec. 1A*

George Matthews, member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) and Chief Editor of the London "Daily Worker", was the next speaker. The following is the essence of his remarks:

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF  
THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA, ON  
OCTOBER 6, 1960

"I disagree with the Chinese and their objections to the use of the phrase, national Communism. I do not agree with the arguments of the Chinese and their charge of great power chauvinism. We should avoid this type of argument. The dispute we have here is more than mere differences between the CPC and the CPSU. If the CPC line would be adopted, every Communist Party in the world would have to change its line.

"We believe that other Parties are making contributions to Marxism-Leninism. We cannot understand why the Chinese insist that only the CPSU wants to reserve this right for itself.

"On the question of peaceful transition, we have proof of this when some of the peoples' democracies were established. We also see possibilities for peaceful transition in some capitalist countries. The 20th Congress of the CPSU generalized these experiences on peaceful transition. We differ with the CPC, fundamentally differ on this question.

"In 1951, we put forth our own theories on this question in the "British Road to Socialism". Our theories proved correct in life. If we should put forth the CPC theory on war and peace, we would be isolated.

"What has happened in the Labor Party is good, or would the Chinese comrades say it was bad? The fact remains that the right wing has been defeated on the question of peace and armaments. Our experience in the peace movement shows that we have to fight for disarmament, against nuclear tests and the use of nuclear weapons.

"I disagree with the Chinese comrades on what they have said on the results of a nuclear war. I also want to disagree with the Chinese on their emphasis on imperialism determining the fate of the world at this time. We believe socialism is the determinate factor in this epoch. Already in 1957 we said that there is no fatal inevitability of war. The Chinese

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF  
THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA, ON  
OCTOBER 6, 1960

say that all kinds of war are possible now. We, on the other hand, say that there are now greater possibilities than before to avert war.

'On the question of peaceful transition, we have some very good examples. Even Lenin said there are such possibilities although he said it would be 'a rare opportunity for a peaceful revolution'. But we Communists of Great Britain say, without equivocation, that this rare opportunity exists in our country. The delegation of the CPGB supports the policies of the CPSU and this draft before us because we think that the policies are correct.'

The speech of George Matthews ended the sessions of October 6, 1960.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

1 - Mr. Donohoe  
1 - Mr. Little  
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

SAC, Chicago

January 10, 1961

Director, FBI (100-21341)

TIMOTHY BUCK  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re New York letter to Bureau dated 1-4-61, copies of which were furnished Chicago.

The Bureau interposes no objection to the request of the New York Office for permission to exhibit material found in possession of subject to CG 5824-S\*. In obtaining observations of CG 5824-S\* concerning Items No. 3, 6 and 7 mentioned in referenced letter, you should exercise care to avoid revealing to the informant the source of the information. The results of this inquiry should be submitted under instant caption.

1 - New York (100-15140)

NOTE ON YELLOW:

New York letter 1-4-61 furnished photographs of 23 items of material which were in possession of Timothy Buck. Through Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), NYC, the New York Office was able to obtain photographs of all papers in Buck's possession as he voluntarily surrendered these papers to INS authorities. Items No. 3, 6 and 7 to be displayed to CG 5824-S\* concern notes on the Sino-Soviet Friendship Commune; notes apparently referring to percentage of increase or decrease in production capacity of Red China; and notes pertaining to increase in literacy of Chinese population, the development of the collectivization of agriculture, relationship of Tibet to China and notes on Chinese culture. A review of all the material made available by the New York Office shows that it does not relate to the recent Solo mission of CG 5824-S\*. Due to the extensive knowledge of CG 5824-S\* concerning world communism, it appears this informant will be able to explain the meaning of the notes on China which were in possession of Buck.

1 - 100-428091 (Solo)

JWL:kmo  
(8)

52 JAN 26 1961

100-428091-  
NOT RECORDED  
136 JAN 10 1961

DUPLICATE YELLOW

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*Memorandum*

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: January 11, 1961

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *ABK*SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

CG 5824-S\* made available information concerning a border incident between China and Russia obtained during the recent 8th Solo mission while in Moscow, Russia.

The informant, as a representative of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), accompanied by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, member of the National Committee of the CPUSA, met with representatives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCPSU) in a secret meeting on 9-28-60 in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia. They were briefed at that time concerning the Sino-Soviet dispute and the Russians solicited their support for the position being taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) during the Conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties which followed during October and November, 1960.

Pyotr N. Pospelov, candidate member of the Presidium, CCPSU, related at this meeting that the dispute between the CPSU and the Communist Party of China (CPC) was quite aggravated and growing worse. He noted the Chinese had also created some border incidents. Pospelov did not go into detail about the border incidents although he placed the blame on the Chinese.

Our informant later determined through representatives of the CCPSU that one border incident occurred somewhere in Siberia. Members of a Chinese commune enlarged the area of the commune by moving into Russian territory. They were driven back into Chinese territory by Russian troops. It could not be determined whether there were any injuries or casualties as a result of this incident which was said to have occurred sometime prior to 8-31-60.

Enc.

100-428091

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr.

b6  
b7C

17 JAN 18 1961

EX-105

JWL:bgc (6)

57 JAN 23 1961

JAN 19 1961

52

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 65-53604

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

OBSERVATIONS:

1. This is the first information developed concerning the use of troops by Russia in their dispute with China.
2. This information has been paraphrased to fully protect our informant in letters for dissemination.

ACTION:

1. Attached for approval are "~~Top Secret~~" letters disseminating this information to the Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President; the Honorable Christian A. Herter, the Secretary of State; the Honorable Robert F. Kennedy; Mr. Allen W. Dulles, Director, Central Intelligence Agency; and the Attorney General.

*cc to white*

2. A separate communication *attached* has been prepared for the Honorable Dean Rusk setting out background information concerning this Sino-Soviet dispute. Incorporated in this communication is the information mentioned above.

*just 7*

*just*

*EGP*

*P*

*V*

*OK*

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 06-28-2011

100-428091

BY LIAISON

1-Mr. Parsons  
1-Mr. Belmont  
1-Mr. Baumgardner  
1-Liaison  
1-Mr.

Date: January 16, 1961

To: Office of Security  
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

b6  
b7C

50%

1-17-61  
delivered  
05/18

Reference is made to my letter of January 12, 1961, furnishing you with information concerning the Sino-Soviet dispute.

Enclosed for your additional information is a memorandum which contains a statement of the position of the Communist Party of China on the policy of peaceful coexistence.

This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA.

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication and its enclosure be afforded careful security and their use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

Enclosure

- 1 - Director  
Central Intelligence Agency (Enclosure) BY LIAISON
- Attention: Deputy Director, Plans
- 1 - Director of Naval Intelligence (Enclosure) BY LIAISON
- 1 - Office of Special Investigations (Enclosure) BY LIAISON  
Air Force
- Attention: Chief, Counterintelligence Division

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JWL:kmo

62 JAN 25 1961

~~SECRET~~

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Document downgraded to Secret  
Per 60324 uc  RS on 2/22/2001

~~TOP SECRET~~

Office of Security  
Department of State

1 - Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (Enclosure)  
Department of the Army BY LIAISON

Attention: Chief, Security Division

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because disclosure of  
this information could result in exceptionally grave damage  
to the Nation.

Information furnished by CG 5824-S\* and was set  
out as an enclosure to Chicago airtel dated 1-9-61 captioned  
"Solo, IS - C."

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 06-28-2011

1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. [redacted]

100-428091

BY LIAISON

Date: January 18, 1961

To: Major General Robert A. Breitweiser, USAF  
Director for Intelligence  
The Joint Staff  
Room 2E966  
The Pentagon  
Washington 25, D. C.

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference is made to my letter of December 28, 1960, transmitting information concerning the Sino-Soviet dispute.

Enclosed for your additional information are 11 Photostats of memoranda setting out speeches and occurrences at meetings of the Editorial Commission on September 30, 1960, October 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 17 and 18, 1960. This Commission met in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia, for the purpose of preparing a document for the November, 1960, Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties which also met in Moscow. There is also enclosed a Photostat of a memorandum which sets out excerpts from a document containing a speech delivered by MAO Tse-tung, Chairman of the Communist Party of China. This document was circulated on November 14, 1960, among the delegates attending the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. This material provides extensive details on the ideological differences existing between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.

This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA. Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication and the enclosures be afforded careful security and their use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

Enclosures (12)

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

Tolson  
Mohr  
Parsons  
Belmont  
Callahan  
DeLoach  
Malone  
McGuire

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



~~TOP SECRET~~

Major General Robert A. Breitweiser, USAF  
Director for Intelligence  
The Joint Staff

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

Information set out in enclosures furnished by CG 5824-S\* and contained in letterhead memoranda submitted by Chicago airtels dated 1-3, 4, 5, 6, 9-61, all captioned "Solo, IS - C." This information has previously been disseminated to Office of Security, Department of State; CIA; ONI; OSI; and ACSI. In view of the unusual intelligence value of this information concerning the Sino-Soviet dispute, it is felt this additional dissemination should be made on a top secret basis.

~~TOP SECRET~~

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-361868)

1/17/61

SAC, NEW YORK (65-15026)

VLADIMIR B. BARKOVSKY  
IS - R

ReBulet, 5/10/60,  
NYlet, 5/24/60, and  
Rep of SA JOSEPH F. SPRINGER, 11/29/60, at NY.

Subject is a Soviet National employed as Counselor and Advisor for the Soviet Delegation to the UN, and is a known Soviet Intelligence Agent. Subject last departed the US on 11/1/60, for vacation in the USSR and returned to the US on 12/23/60.

Referenced Bulet requested the NYO to review the position it had taken since 1/19/60, of essentially no fisur of subject and Bulet further requested analysis and recommendations concerning fisur of subject.

Referenced NYlet reflected that it was contemplated subject would depart the US on vacation in June or July, 1960, and noted that upon subject's return to the US he be afforded spot fisur coverage.

In view of subject's return to the US from vacation in the USSR, on 12/23/60, it is recommended subject be afforded spot fisur coverage. Regarding scheduled meets with highly placed confidential informants, no fisur of subject will be conducted ten days prior or subsequent to such meets, UACB.

- ③ - Bureau (100-361868) (RM)  
① - 100-428091 (Solo; IS-C)  
1 - Chicago (134-46) (Info) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (Solo ; IS-C)  
1 - New York (65-15026)

JFS:pha  
(6)

100-428091  
NOT RECORDED  
183 JAN 18 1961

51 JAN 26 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 06-28-2011

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr.

January 18, 1961

BY LIAISON

b6  
b7C

Major General James H. Walsh  
Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence  
Department of the Air Force  
The Pentagon  
Washington 25, D. C.

*0-5060*

*Delivered  
1/19/61  
Joc*

Dear General Walsh:

Reference is made to my letter of December 28, 1960,  
transmitting information concerning the Sino-Soviet dispute.

Enclosed for your additional information are 11  
Photostats of memoranda setting out speeches and occurrences  
at meetings of the Editorial Commission on September 30, 1960,  
October 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 17 and 18, 1960. This Commission  
met in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia, for the purpose of pre-  
paring a document for the November, 1960, Conference of Com-  
munist and Workers' Parties which also met in Moscow. There  
is also enclosed a Photostat of a memorandum which sets out  
excerpts from a document containing a speech delivered by  
MAO Tse-tung, Chairman of the Communist Party of China. This  
document was circulated on November 14, 1960, among the delegates  
attending the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. This  
material provides extensive details on the ideological differ-  
ences existing between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
and the Communist Party of China.

This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive  
source, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of  
the Communist Party, USA. Because of the sensitive nature of  
our source, it is requested that the contents of this communi-  
cation and the enclosures be afforded careful security and  
their use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

*K*

Sincerely yours,

*100-428091-1114*

EX-113

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

- Tolson
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Belmont
- Callahan
- DeLoach
- Malone
- McGuire
- Rosen
- Tamm
- Trotter
- W.C. Sullivan
- Tele. Room
- Ingram
- Gandy

100-428091

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE 2

Enclosures (12)

*51 JAN 28 1961*

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐ ~~TOP SECRET~~

*Document downgraded to Secret  
per 60321 up  RS on 1/22/2011*

~~TOP SECRET~~

Major General James H. Walsh

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

Information set out in enclosures furnished by CG 5824-S\* and contained in letterhead memoranda submitted by Chicago airtels dated 1-3, 4, 5, 6, 9-61, all captioned "Solo, IS - C." This information has previously been disseminated to Office of Security, Department of State; CIA; ONI; OSI; and ACSI<sup>(ARM)</sup>. In view of the unusual intelligence value of this information concerning the Sino-Soviet dispute, it is felt this additional dissemination should be made on a top secret basis.

- 2 -

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 06-28-2011

1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr.

b6  
b7C

100-428091

BY LIAISON

*ea*  
*1/19*  
Date: January 19, 1961  
To: Office of Security  
Department of State  
From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*Solo*

*1-23-61  
Delivered  
attB*

Reference is made to my recent correspondence furnishing you with information concerning the Sino-Soviet dispute.

Enclosed for your additional information are eleven memoranda which contain details of proceedings as they occurred at secret meetings of representatives of communist and workers' parties during October and November, 1960, in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia. This material includes:

1. Final session of the Editorial Commission on October 22, 1960.
2. Opening day of sessions of the November, 1960, meeting of communist and workers' parties on November 10, 1960.
3. November 14, 1960, speech of TENG Hsiao-ping, General Secretary, Communist Party of China.
4. Speech of Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, on November 15, 1960.
5. November 16, 1960, sessions of the meeting of communist and workers' parties on November 23, 1961.
6. Speech of Tim Buck, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, on November 16, 1960.
7. Speech of Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor on November 16, 1960.
8. Speech of Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, on November 21, 1960.

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE THREE

*Document downgraded to Secret  
per 60324 uc  
100-428091*

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*62 JAN 25 1961*

~~TOP SECRET~~

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~TOP SECRET~~

Office of Security  
Department of State

9. Speech of Satomi Hakamada, member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of Japan, on November 22, 1960.
10. Speech of Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev on November 23, 1960.
11. The November 24, 1960, speech of TENG Hsiao-ping.

This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA.

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication and its enclosures be afforded careful security and their use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

Enclosures 11

- 1 - Director  
Central Intelligence Agency (Enclosures 11) BY LIAISON  
Attention: Deputy Director, Plans  
*TO S.H. Hart  
1/23/61*
- 1 - Director of Naval Intelligence (Enclosures 11) BY LIAISON  
*to Wm Abbott  
on 2-1/23/61 gmt*
- 1 - Office of Special Investigations (Enclosures 11) BY LIAISON  
Air Force  
Attention: Chief, Counterintelligence Division  
*Sub. sent 1/23/61  
SAC*
- 1 - Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (Enclosures 11)  
Department of the Army BY LIAISON  
Attention: Chief, Security Division  
*To RCS 2, 1/23/61*
- 1 - Major General Robert A. Breitweiser, USAF (Enclosures 11)  
Director for Intelligence BY LIAISON  
The Joint Staff  
Room 2E966  
The Pentagon  
Washington 25, D. C.  
*To Gen. Breitweiser  
1/23/61  
mwp.*

~~TOP SECRET~~

b6  
b7C

Document downgraded to Secret per  
60344 UC  
RS on 2/22/2011

~~TOP SECRET~~

Office of Security  
Department of State

1 - Major General James H. Walsh (Enclosures 11) BY LIAISON  
Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence  
Department of the Air Force  
The Pentagon  
Washington 25, D. C.

*Submitted,  
1/2/61 JSC*

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because disclosure of  
this information could result in exceptionally grave damage  
to the Nation.

Information set out in enclosures furnished by  
CG 5824-S\* and was received as letterhead memoranda enclosures  
to eleven Chicago airtels dated 1-10 and 1-11-61 captioned  
"Solo, IS - C."

- 3 -

~~TOP SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 1/9/61

Transmit the following in AIRTEL PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)

b6  
b7CSOLO  
IS = C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau seven copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing excerpts from a document containing a speech delivered by MAO Tse-tung on 11/18/57. This document was circulated by representatives of the Communist Party of China (CPC) at the meeting of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia, in November, 1960.

The original speech was delivered only before representatives of the Communist countries. The representatives of the CPC asked that the copies of this document be returned immediately after they were read. CG 5824-S\* managed to retain a copy overnight and made notes from it. In the opinion of CG 5824-S\* no one else in the Communist Party, USA, delegation to the November meeting in Moscow has notes on this document.

For the reasons stated above and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C. in compliance with instructions in above Bulet.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SA'S JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN and Stenographer [redacted] on 1/5/61.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (RM) (AM) (RRR)  
1 - New York (Encl. 1) (RM) (AM) (RRR)  
100-134637 (SOLO)  
1 - Chicago

JEK:LMA

100-428091-1113  
w/11/18/60 with photo stat of encl  
JWL:KMO

10 JAN 11 1961

Approved: *James H. Gale*

Ser

Special Agent in Charge

JAN 27 1961





In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

100-428091

Washington, D.C.  
January 9, 1961

~~SECRET~~

*W. J. [unclear]*  
Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Parsons ✓  
Mr. Belmont ✓  
Mr. Callahan ✓  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. Malone ✓  
Mr. McGuire ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tamm ✓  
Mr. Trotter ✓  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan ✓  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Ingram  
Miss Gandy

EXCERPTS FROM A DOCUMENT CONTAINING  
A SPEECH DELIVERED BY MAO TSE-TUNG  
ON NOVEMBER 18, 1957

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information:

In a letter dated November 5, 1960, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU) responded to a letter of the Communist Party of China (CPC) dated September 10, 1960. As a result of this and as a partial answer to the November 5, 1960, letter of the CCCPSU, the delegation of the CPC in Moscow to attend the meeting of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties circulated a document among the delegates on November 14, 1960. After allowing time for the document to be read, the CPC asked for the immediate return of the copies which had been circulated.

The document was approximately 15 pages in length and contained a speech delivered by MAO Tse-tung, Chairman of the CPC, on November 18, 1957, in Moscow, Russia. The speech was delivered at a meeting at which only representatives of the Communist countries were in attendance. The draft of the Moscow Declaration of 1957 was prepared at this meeting. Subsequently, this draft was adopted at a meeting of representatives of several Communist Parties and Workers' Parties.

C.P. of CHINA

CHINA RUSSIA

The reason for the circulation of this document by the delegation of the CPC was an attempt to show that the position of MAO Tse-tung on peace and peaceful co-existence is contrary to the position attributed to him in the CCCPSU letter of November 5, 1960. There follow excerpts taken from this document.

I must apologize for speaking while remaining seated but I am not feeling too well. My circulation is affected and the doctors diagnosed the condition as brain anemia.

There is a new turning point in the international situation. The socialist forces are superior to the imperialist forces.

100-428091-1113

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

EXCERPTS FROM A DOCUMENT CONTAINING  
A SPEECH DELIVERED BY MAO TSE-TUNG  
ON NOVEMBER 18, 1957

~~SECRET~~

The Russian Socialist Revolution of 40 years ago was a turning point in the history of mankind. Stalingrad was a turning point in World War II.

We are very optimistic but the western world is in a state of panic. The launching of the two earth satellites by the Soviet Union has made them sleepless.

The United States boasts about steel production. During World War II they produced 70 million tons of steel. The U.S.S.R., due to loss of territory, produced only 9 million tons of steel, yet on the basis of history and fact we can say that the United States could not win without the U.S.S.R. We won the war against CHIANG Kai-shek. He was licked despite the help he received from the United States.

In Korea the United States and the imperialist allies were licked despite all their planes, guns, ammunition, etc. We had only 50 guns for each division. We had no front line planes. The United States had 800 guns for each division. They had planes as thick as hordes of mosquitoes. Sixteen nations were on the side of the United States but we licked them to a standstill in Korea.

In Vietnam the French had the backing of the United States. They, too, would receive mountains of material, but the French and the United States imperialists were licked.

In Egypt, at Suez, the British and the French were licked.

In the last analysis, we want 15 years of peace. By that time, we will be invincible. No one would dare to wage war against us and lasting peace can be circulated in the world.

The western world may unleash war against us, though. They may throw atomic and hydrogen bombs everywhere. If they do, and we follow suit, things will be in a mess and lives will be lost. We must proceed from the worst in our consideration of this matter. Our Political Bureau held several sessions on this

~~SECRET~~

**EXCERPTS FROM A DOCUMENT CONTAINING  
A SPEECH DELIVERED BY MAO TSE-TUNG  
ON NOVEMBER 18, 1957**

~~SECRET~~

question. If war breaks out now, China has only hand grenades; no atomic bombs. However, the Soviet Union has them. One may try to visualize how many lives will be lost if war breaks out. Of our world population of 2 billion 700 million, one third may be lost, or even more--half of the world's population may be lost. However, it is not we, but they, who want war. Once a war starts, atomic and hydrogen bombs will be used. I once had a debate with a foreign statesman on this question. In his view, if there were an atomic war, everybody would die. I said that to put it in the extreme way, even if one half of the world's population were destroyed, there would still be the other half left. The imperialists would be wiped out and the whole world would become socialist. After so many years, there will again be a world population of 2 billion, 700 million, and certainly more. We hope for peace, but if the imperialists insist on fighting a war then the only thing for us to do is to make a drastic decision to fight first and then construct. If you are afraid of war all the time, what can you do when war really comes.

What decides the matter is not how much steel you have but, first of all, whether the people are for or against you. This is the way it has always been in history.

The Bolsheviks had 40,000 members in the Party in February, 1917, and they had only 240,000 in November, 1917. Parties grow from small handfuls to millions.

We had 900,000 guerrillas (Yenan, a town of only 700, was our headquarters) in scores of bases, all cut off from each other by CHIANG Kai-shek, but we said CHIANG Kai-shek was only a "paper tiger" and we would certainly defeat him.

We must split the enemy as a whole but take full account of him so far as each and every concrete question is concerned.

I am also happy that the Yugoslav comrades are ready to sign on the second document. What does it show that they are going to sign the Peace Manifesto of more than 60 Parties? It shows solidarity. They will not sign the declaration of the 12 countries. Thus, one of the 13 countries is missing. We cannot impose upon others. Maybe some years later they will sign.

~~SECRET~~

EXCERPTS FROM A DOCUMENT CONTAINING  
A SPEECH DELIVERED BY MAO TSE-TUNG  
ON NOVEMBER 18, 1957

~~SECRET~~

The source advised that at this point the speech of MAO Tse-tung supported Khrushchev on the ousting of Molotov and others from the leadership of the Party at that time. He said Khrushchev's line was comparatively correct. The excerpts from this speech continue.

Stalin did grand work while leading the Soviet Party. His achievements are the main thing; his weaknesses and mistakes are secondary. Stalin, over a long period of time, developed metaphysics and damaged dialectics. The cult of the individual is a metaphysical approach. Nobody could criticize Stalin. In my view, the Soviet Union in the last 40 years underwent a dialectical process. Since the dialectics of Lenin, Stalin had many metaphysical viewpoints. These viewpoints are reflected in actions developed to extremes and inevitably turned into their opposite. Hence, again, dialectics. I am very happy that Comrade Khrushchev, in his report to the meeting, commemorated the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet Revolution and spoke about the existence of contradictions in socialist societies.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 1/19/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. T. A. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

OSOLO  
IS-C

Re New York airtel, 8/11/60, containing information concerning ABE and BELLE CHAPMAN.

CG 5824-S\* on 1/13/61 orally furnished to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN the information on the following page concerning ABE and BELLE CHAPMAN.

GALE

- 1-1243
- ③ - Bureau (AM) (RM)
  - 1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM)
  - 1 - Chicago

JEK:ntb  
(5)REC-90  
REC-10

EX-113

JAN 24 1961

52 JAN 31 1961

ENCLOSURE

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

INFORMATION CONCERNING  
ABE AND BELLE CHAPMAN

On or about December 15, 1960, MORRIS CHILDS engaged in a discussion with ABE and BELLE CHAPMAN in Prague, Czechoslovakia. They have given up the idea of returning to the United States but hope that their two daughters may some day be able to go to the United States. One of the daughters is studying chemical engineering and the other daughter is studying philology at the University of Prague. U.S.R.

BELLE CHAPMAN was crying as she stated that IRVING POTASH had sent her a note reflecting that he had visited her folks in Spring Valley, New York.

ABE CHAPMAN said he is still teaching philology at the University of Prague and works in the Literature Department of the Academy of Sciences. He has written two volumes on the history of American literature. He said he is willing to write articles for "MAINSTREAM". CZ

CHAPMAN said he sees ALFRED and MARTHA DODD STERN very often.

According to CHAPMAN he is treated as a citizen of Czechoslovakia and as a Communist Party member but he has not been taken into the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and cannot understand the reason for this.

- 1 -  
100-428091-1114  
ENCLOSURE

~~TOP SECRET~~

1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. [redacted] b6  
b7C

100-428091

BY LIAISON

Date: January 19, 1961  
To: Office of Security  
Department of State  
From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

b6  
b7C

Reference is made to my recent correspondence furnishing you with information concerning meetings held in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia, during October and November, 1960, by representatives of communist and workers' parties.

Enclosed for your additional information are three memoranda which contain details of occurrences at meetings held in Moscow subsequent to November 30, 1960, by representatives of communist parties in Latin America. They met to discuss the Cuban revolution and solidarity of the communist parties in Latin America.

This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA.

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication and its enclosures be afforded careful security and their use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

Enclosures (3)

1 - Director  
Central Intelligence Agency (Enclosures 3) BY LIAISON

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

1 - Director of Naval Intelligence (Enclosures 3) BY LIAISON

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JWL:kmo

52 JAN 26 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Document downgraded to Secret  
per 60324 uc  
RS on 12/24/04

5/1/0

1-23-61  
delivered  
on 1/24

b6  
b7C

Delivered to [redacted] 1/23/61  
RWC  
JWL

~~TOP SECRET~~

Office of Security  
Department of State

*Delivered 1/23/61  
Joia*

- 1 - Office of Special Investigations (Enclosures 3) BY LIAISON  
Air Force

Attention: Chief, Counterintelligence Division

- 1 - Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (Enclosures 3)  
Department of the Army BY LIAISON

Attention: Chief, Security Division

*To ACST, 1/23/61*

- 1 - Major General Robert A. Breitweiser, USAF (Enclosures 3)  
Director for Intelligence BY LIAISON  
The Joint Staff  
Room 2E966  
The Pentagon  
Washington 25, D. C.

*Delivered  
1/23/61  
mrb.*

*Delivered  
1/23/61  
Joia*

- 1 - Major General James H. Walsh (Enclosures 3) BY LIAISON  
Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence  
Department of the Air Force  
The Pentagon  
Washington 25, D. C.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" because disclosure of  
this information could result in exceptionally grave damage  
to the Nation.

Information contained in enclosures was furnished  
by CG 5824-S\* and was set out in letterhead memoranda enclosures  
to Chicago airtels dated 1-10, 11, 12-61, all captioned "Solo,  
IS - C."

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 06-28-2011

The Attorney General  
Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Evans  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. [redacted]

January 24, 1961

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

My recent correspondence supplied you with information concerning the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow, Russia, during November, 1960.

At a banquet held in the Kremlin on December 4, 1960, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev expounded his doctrine on communist revolutions, Yugoslavia as a socialist country and the deceitful use of personal diplomacy. The enclosed memorandum sets forth details of the expressions of Khrushchev.

This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source which has furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA. Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication and the enclosure be afforded careful security and their use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

This information is being made available to the Honorable Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State and Mr. Allen Dulles, Director, Central Intelligence Agency.

Enclosure

MAILED 11

JAN 24 1961

COMM-FBI

100-428091

1 - Mr. Byron R. White (Enclosure)  
Deputy Attorney General

NOTE: Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

- Tolson
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Belmont
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Malone
- McGuire
- Rosen
- Trotter
- W.C. Sullivan
- Tele. Room
- Ingram
- Gandy

JWL:kmo  
(9)

Information set forth in enclosure furnished by CG 5824-S\* and was contained in letterhead memorandum enclosure to Chicago airtel dated 1-17-61 captioned "Solo, IS - C."

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

JAN 26 1961

Document downgraded to  
Secret per 60322 uc

b6  
b7c

REC-82  
100-428091-1176  
JAN 24 2 45 PM '61  
FBI  
REC-READING ROOM

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

January 24, 1961

STATEMENTS OF SOVIET PREMIER NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV  
AT A BANQUET IN THE KREMLIN ON DECEMBER 4, 1960

At the conclusion of the conference of representatives of 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow, Russia, a banquet was held in the Kremlin on December 4, 1960. Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev acted as toastmaster and addressed remarks concerning communist revolutions, Yugoslavia and personal diplomacy.

Khrushchev stated that a successful revolution depends upon the circumstances existing in a given country. He pointed out that the circumstances after World War II made it possible for some of the Eastern European countries to accomplish a revolution. In what was described as a joking manner, Khrushchev added, "The Red Army was a little closer to Poland, to Hungary, to Rumania and to Germany as compared to other countries. The Poles know this very well. They would go to the ballot box and vote for some Polish name but it seemed to them an Ivan or someone who supported the Russians would win."

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Khrushchev then made the point that there are various kinds of socialism. He said, "Even if some comrades disagree with me, they are building socialism in Yugoslavia. It would be wrong to put Yugoslavia in the capitalist camp. Well, what have you got in Yugoslavia? If you have no communists, what have they got?" These statements caused a stir in the banquet hall as the "Moscow Declaration" which had just been approved by those assembled condemned Yugoslavia.

Next, Khrushchev discussed the question of diplomacy and took issue with those who claimed that diplomacy is a betrayal of the international communist movement. He said, "I get around. I have to talk to diplomats, to the leaders of the capitalist class. Lenin once told me about how we may have to put on a silk hat, white gloves and a frock coat and go out and shake the hands of capitalist diplomats. When I shake the hand of an Eisenhower, I think sometimes that I would like to wipe my hand off. But diplomatic activity is necessary and is not necessarily a betrayal of the class struggle."

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JWL:kmo

~~TOP SECRET~~

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

*[Handwritten signature]*

1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. [redacted]

Legal Attache, Ottawa

January 24, 1961

Director, FBI (100-428091)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*SOLO*

A highly sensitive informant has furnished the Bureau with information concerning an international cadre training school currently being held in Moscow, Russia. Although this is a Russian school, two thirds of the 300 students are not Russian. Each student is scheduled to attend the school for two years. The courses include Marxism-Leninism, tactics and labor history. The school is similar to the Lenin school except that it is more Russian.

b6  
b7C

Attending this school are four students from Canada. They are [redacted] wife of [redacted] member of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party (CP) of Canada; [redacted] member of the National Executive Committee of the CP of Canada; [redacted] and [redacted] both members of the National Committee of the CP of Canada.

You are authorized to furnish information concerning this school and the names of Canadian citizens attending this school on an oral basis to your source in the [redacted]

b7D

MAILED 5  
JAN 24 1961  
COMM-FBI

NOTE ON YELLOW:

REC- 96  
EX - 113

100-428091-1117

19 JAN 24 1961

This information was furnished by CG 5824-S\* and was contained in a letterhead memorandum submitted by Chicago airtel dated 1-16-61 captioned "Solo, IS - C." Since this information is of particular interest to Canadian authorities, it is deemed desirable to authorize the Legat, Ottawa, to disseminate the information. It is felt this should be handled on an oral basis in order to further protect our informant.

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

JWL:kmo

(6)

52 JAN 30 1961

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Dist to [redacted]*  
*[Handwritten signatures]*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *also*

DATE: January 25, 1961

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Belmont	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Malone	_____
McGuire	_____
Rosen	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Ingram	_____
Gandy	_____

During the recent Solo mission of CG 5824-S\* the informant, accompanied by Elizabeth Gurley-Flynn, Vice-Chairman, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), visited the Chinese Embassy in Moscow, Russia, on 10-2-60. The purpose of this visit was to read an English translation of a 165-page letter of the Communist Party of China (CPC) dated 9-10-60. This letter set out the Chinese position in its ideological dispute with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The letter made stern accusations against the CPSU and called Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev a tool of imperialism. The informant was not able to obtain a copy of this document from the Chinese and the time allotted for reading the document did not permit the taking of notes.

Chinese representatives at the Embassy were told that in regard to the ideological dispute between the CPSU and the CPC, the CPUSA supported the position of the CPSU and would not compromise on principle. They were also told the CPUSA would not lead a fight against the CPC and wanted to retain fraternal relationships with the CPC.

It will be recalled that CG 5824-S\* previously made available a copy of the letter of the CPSU dated 11-5-60 which answered point by point the accusations contained in the above-mentioned Chinese letter of 9-10-60. A summary of the Soviet document was disseminated to top officials of the Government. The complete document was disseminated to appropriate Government intelligence agencies.

ACTION:

All pertinent information concerning this ideological dispute has been disseminated. *Z*

100-428091 *just 7 Race*

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr.   99

62 JAN 31 1961  
(5)

b6  
b7C

REC-76

TOL XE

4 JAN 26 1961

INT. SEC.

FBI

Date: 1/20/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

Re Chicago airtel, 9/7/60, containing information concerning V. J. JEROME and his wife, ALICE JEROME. The information on the following pages was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 1/13/61.

Due to the nature of the information and the manner in which it was obtained, it is not being incorporated in a letterhead memorandum.

GALE

- ③ - Bureau (AM) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM)  
1 - Chicago

JEK:ntb  
(5)

ENCLOSURE

LCC - Wick

59 FEB 1 1961

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

MR + MRS VICTOR JEREMY JEROME  
ALICE JEROME AND THEIR  
YOUNGEST SON

U.S.A.  
RUSSIA  
ITALY

b6  
b7c

During October, 1960, NIKOLAI VLADIMIROVICH MOSTOVETS, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), and ALEKSEI ANDREEVICH GRECHUKHIN, who is in charge of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) and the United States, as a deputy to MOSTOVETS, were discussing V. J. JEROME.

JEROME is working on English translations of the works of V. I. LENIN. JEROME got into trouble because he would not follow the system in the translation section where he is employed. JEROME said that his superiors were wrong in trying to speed up the translation of LENIN. He went over the Department heads and complained to the CPSU. The CPSU straightened the matter out, but MOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN told CHILDS to tell JEROME not to do it again.

MOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN said that JEROME receives \$90.00 in foreign currency each month to send to the United States for rent on his apartment, which he is maintaining. JEROME wants to become a member of the CPSU but MOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN said that this is absolutely not possible. He has been in the Soviet Union for thirteen or fourteen months. During that time he has worked about eight months. The rest of the time he has been on vacation, in a hospital or in a sanitarium. He works on the translations in his apartment. The quality of his work is good but he just does not work. Continuing, MOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN said that JEROME's youngest son is going to the University of Moscow. It costs \$2,800 a semester for his education, books, board, etc. ALICE JEROME is doing part-time work and is not going to school even though she had previously indicated a desire to do so.

MOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN told CHILDS to talk in plain language to JEROME.

- 1 -

100-428091-1120  
ENCLOSURE

CHILDS saw JEROME on three separate occasions during October and November, 1960. CHILDS told JEROME that the Russians had told him that JEROME has to follow the rules or he can quit and go home.

JEROME said that he has no complaints except that he is isolated from the Party. He said that he has never been so isolated in his life.

According to JEROME, he is working on a second volume of "A Lamp for Jeremy". The first volume is being translated in Italy. He is negotiating a trip to Italy. He is planning to leave the Soviet Union in about May or June, 1961, but has not told this to the Russians.

V. J. JEROME and ALICE JEROME and their youngest son all speak Russian well.

Comments

There were indications during the discussion with NOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN that the Russians would be glad to see V. J. JEROME leave Russia.



F B I

Date: 1/18/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith for the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division 1 copy of a letterhead memorandum concerning the position of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN and the CP, USA, on the ideological dispute between the CPSU and the CPC as reflected in FLYNN's remarks to the meeting of the Editorial Commission in Moscow, Russia on 10/7/60.

It is noted that only ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN and CG 5824-S\* from the CP, USA, participated in the meeting of the Editorial Commission. For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions in reBulet.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/29/60.

1-1243 1-1243 REC-16 GALE  
3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - New York (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR) 100-428091-11  
1 - Chicago (SOLO)  
JEK:jem  
(5)

12 JAN 19 1961

C C. Wick

59 JAN 30 1961

Approved: James H. Gale  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

*Speech of Flynn disseminated by 1/12/61 to State & Agencies. No further dissemination of info per*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 18, 1961

~~SECRET~~

POSITION OF ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN  
AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY (CP), USA  
ON THE IDEOLOGICAL DISPUTE BETWEEN  
THE CP OF THE SOVIET UNION (CPSU)  
AND THE CP OF CHINA (CPC)

The CP, USA, has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a Vice Chairman and member of the National Committee of the CP, USA, spoke to the Commission to Prepare a Document for the November meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, also known as the Editorial Commission on October 7, 1960, in Moscow, Russia. The essence of her remarks on that date have been set forth elsewhere. She supported the CPSU in its ideological dispute with the CPC and also defended Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCCPSU).

Flynn had been flattered by the honors previously extended to her in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, East Germany and the Soviet Union. Thus, she was personally pro-Russian and not pro-Chinese in the ideological dispute.

When Flynn concluded her remarks on October 7, 1960, TENG Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPC (CCCPC) sent TANG Ming-chao, a translator in the International Liaison Department of the CCCPC to the delegation of the CP, USA, to ask if Flynn had given expression to the views of the CP, USA, or to her own views. When informed that the general presentation of Flynn was that of the CP, USA, TANG Ming-chao displayed obvious disappointment.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

100-428091-1121

FBI

Date: 1/18/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code).Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

Re New York airtel 8/10/60, containing information concerning [REDACTED]

CG 5824-S\* orally furnished the information on the following page concerning [REDACTED] to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/17/60.

GALE

3 - Bureau (AM) (RM) (  
 1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM)  
 1 - Chicago  
 JEK:jem  
 (5)

REC-16

100-428091-1122

9 JAN 25 1961

C. C. - Wick

ENCLOSURE

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M. Per \_\_\_\_\_

December 17, 1960

INFORMATION CONCERNING [REDACTED]

During October, 1960, Nikolai Mostovets, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCPSU), and Alexei Grochukhin, who is in charge of the Communist Party (CP), USA, and the United States as an assistant to Mostovets, were discussing [REDACTED] son of Jorge Maymonet. He is in a school for foreign students. This school is located in Inonova (phonetic), a textile center about 100 miles from Moscow, Russia. *U.S. 2* *201.5*

Russia is intercepting letters written to [REDACTED] who has a girl friend in the United States. His mother wants him to come home. She has been visited by the FBI. He is complaining about the treatment he is receiving. He is a backward student.

The CPUSU wants to know if the CP, USA would object if [REDACTED] is sent home.

100 - 428091 - 1122

-1-

ENCLOSURE

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 06-29-2011

Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. [redacted]

January 24, 1961

BY LIAISON

Honorable Dean Rusk  
The Secretary of State  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Rusk:

My recent correspondence supplied you with information concerning the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow, Russia, during November, 1960.

At a banquet held in the Kremlin on December 4, 1960, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev expounded his doctrine on communist revolutions, Yugoslavia as a socialist country and the deceitful use of personal diplomacy. The enclosed memorandum sets forth details of the expressions of Khrushchev.

This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source which has furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA. Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication and the enclosure be afforded careful security and their use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

I am making available this information to other appropriate officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

100-428091-112

Tolson  
Mohr  
Parsons  
Belmont  
Callahan  
Conrad  
DeLoach  
Malone  
McGuire  
Rosen  
Trotter  
W.C. Sullivan  
Tele. Room  
Ingram  
Gandy

Enclosure

100-428091

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

JWL:kmo

(7)

62 JAN 31 1961

TELETYPE UNIT

REC-33

JAN 25 1961

REC'D READING ROOM

JAN 24 4 45 PM '61

SOLO

1-25-61  
Delivered  
HBB

b6  
b7C

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Dean Rusk

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

Information set forth in enclosure furnished by CG 5824-S\* and was contained in letterhead memorandum enclosure to Chicago airtel dated 1-17-61 captioned "Solo, IS - C."

~~TOP SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 1/10/61

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)

SOLO  
IS - Cb6  
b7C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau seven copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing the essence of a speech delivered by SATOMI HAKAMADA, member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of Japan to the meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia.

Including the representatives, translators, advisors and technicians, approximately 300 people attended this meeting. The proceedings of the meeting were not made public. While six representatives of the Communist Party, USA, were present it is the opinion of CG 5824-S\* that no one from the CP, USA, delegation has notes which are as complete as those of CG 5824-S\*. For this reason, and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions in above Bulet.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAS JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN and Stenographer [redacted] on 1/5/61.

GALE

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 1 - New York (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR) (REC-44)  
 100-134637 (SOLO)  
 1 - Chicago

JEK:LMA/pat  
(5)

7 ENCLOSURE

C. C. Wick

let state cc CIA, ONI, OS)  
 G2, ACS (AF) + JCS  
 + 1 end, com  
 11/9/61  
 JWL: KMD

17 JAN 12 1961

Approved: *[Signature]*  
 61 FEB 2 1961 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-428091

Washington, D.C.  
January 10, 1960

~~TOP SECRET~~

SPEECH OF SATOMI HAKAMADA TO THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

On November 22, 1960, the meeting of the representatives of the 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties heard a speech by Satomi Hakamada, member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of Japan. The sessions of this meeting were held in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia. HO Chi-minh, President of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam, was the Chairman of the session at which Hakamada spoke. The following is the essence of the remarks of Satomi Hakamada.

USSR  
Japan

◊ The differences in the international movement are now known to the enemy. We, therefore, need to emphasize the unity and cohesion of our Communist movement. We need to accept the document before us, which will be acceptable to all.

◊ We agree with the draft as a whole, although we have a few amendments to the fifth section. Despite the fact that Japan developed as a capitalist country, it remains occupied and dominated by the United States imperialists. Thanks to the military treaty with the United States, Japan has become a satellite of United States aggressive aims. However, the struggle of the Japanese people against this treaty is a powerful movement of millions, and the Communist Party has played and still plays a big role in this movement.

◊ The Communist Party line in Japan is to unite all patriotic forces against the ruling circles of the United States and its junior partner, the Japanese monopolist lackeys. Japan is allegedly independent on the basis of the San Francisco Treaty, but in fact this is not so. We Communists spared no effort to show that United States imperialism dominates Japan. In the struggle, we did not forget the Japanese lackeys. We fought, and continue to fight, to throw off the rule of the United States.

1 photo of ACS  
JCS

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-428091-1124

ENCLOSURE

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

SPEECH OF SATOMI HAKAMADA TO THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"We are also for the banning of the "A" and "H" bombs. We are for a treaty between Japan and the U.S.S.R. We are for the evacuation of Okinawa. We demand peace, national independence, democracy, and better living conditions. These slogans have helped us to mobilize millions. But the priority in this fight is against United States imperialism and the security pact. The social democrats tried to evade the struggle against United States imperialism when the masses were moving forward. We succeeded in mobilizing the people against President Eisenhower. We had gigantic demonstrations against the United States in Japan and against the United States security pact. We surrounded the United States Embassy. Hundreds of thousands participated in these demonstrations, and in demonstrations in front of parliament. We had 23 nation wide demonstrations and two political strikes involving two and one half million people. It was this national movement which compelled the Kishi Government to fall and prevented President Eisenhower from visiting Japan.

"The international relation of forces opens up brighter prospects for us in Japan as indicated in the draft document, and it also points to United States imperialism as the main enemy. The draft calls upon the workers in the capitalist countries not to be passive. We have set up committees of joint struggle and the socialist leaders were compelled to accept this united front. If they would have refused they would have been isolated. The united front committees exist all over the country. There are 2,000 such committees of struggle. In many of these committees we play the leading role. However, in the midst of this struggle against the security treaty we had to combat the rightists and the leftists.

"There was also a fight in the Socialist Party. They, too, were split. The right wing of that Party wanted to compromise with United States imperialism. The Trotskyites seized power in the leading student circles and by shouting the slogan that Japan is on the eve of a social revolution, they repelled many people. They caused useless division and a struggle with the Japanese intelligentsia. They even provoked the police and uselessly spilled blood. The Trotskyites behaved like provocateurs.

"I want to emphasize that there is no real revolutionary situation in Japan at this time, nor was there such a situation

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SPEECH OF SATOMI HAKAMADA TO THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

at the time of our big struggle against the security treaty. Although there are splits even in the ruling circles, the capitalist class in Japan can still rule. During the big demonstrations in Japan our government had liaison with the United States military. We know this for a fact and we have documents to prove it. Ten United States detachments were ready to suppress the movement. This is why we had to fight the Trotskyites, to isolate them, to prevent provocation, not to be involved in an unequal battle.

"If we had allowed these Trotskyite provocateurs to go on all would have been hurt, including the Communist Party. We had to organize a separate united front of the student administration and, thus, broke the majority away from the Trotskyites. Many leaders of the trade union movement and the Socialist Party are anti-Communist and they, too, had to deal with the Trotskyites on the basis of anti-Communism. Some of these Trotskyite leaders are renegades who, at one time, were in the Party. These elements are fighting the socialist camp.

"If the government wins the coming election we will start a new offensive to mobilize the people. The slogan is 'end the treaty with the United States and extend democracy'. The trade union general council was originally set up by the United States. The majority of the council was made up of social democrats, but we influence at least one third of the membership in the trade union movement.

"Our weak link in Japan is the peasantry, but during the struggle against the military treaty the peasantry moved closer to us and we do have some successes to record. The National Committee of the Communist Party of Japan last August adopted a very serious resolution on the peasantry, and how to form alliances with them. This has helped us and we are putting life into the slogans and penetrating the masses of the peasantry.

"Our Party membership is still relatively small. We intend to double our membership and consolidate the Party. We are constantly meeting with the membership, building up a cadre, checking up with the carrying out of decisions, etc."

The source stated that Hakamada did not mention any number in connection with the size of Communist Party of Japan;

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SPEECH OF SATOMI HAKAMADA TO THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

when specifically asked Hakamada advised the source that the membership is 100,000. The remarks of Hakamada continue.

"Since the elections the opposition has more than one third of the vote. We will, thus, be able to prevent the change of the constitution to abrogate democracy. We now have six Communist Party deputies in the Diet instead of one as before. The reasons for our weaknesses can be laid to our inner Party struggle. We are only now getting over it. Our strategic line was first a national democratic revolution for independence and democracy, and after this coalition wins power, to develop the movement for socialism.

"However, we have a minority in our Party which persists in skipping stages. We stress the fight against monopoly and United States imperialist domination. This minority stresses only the domestic enemy.

"We still have differences in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan and we must admit that these differences have hampered the recent struggles. We are working to retain the unity of our Central Committee despite these differences, and the Eighth Party Congress will adopt a program and help to consolidate the Communist Party.

"We need unity in our Party and we need unity in the international movement as the draft declaration says. We need this unity in order to concentrate our blows against the main enemy. The drafting committee succeeded in overcoming many differences on the international situation. This shows that patient and frank discussions can accomplish many things for unity. Let us see what can be done and go on to bring about more unity. In the draft there are still a few points that need ironing out. We hope that we can unanimously adopt the declaration. It is our sacred duty before the working class to unite."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 06-29-2011

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
  - 1 - Mr. Belmont
  - 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
  - 1 - Liaison
  - 1 - Mr. LaPrade
- BY LIAISON

100-428091

Date: January 25, 1961

To: Office of Security  
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*Solo*

*1-26-61  
Delivered  
[Signature]*

b6  
b7C

The following information concerning an international cadre training school in Moscow, Russia, was supplied by an extremely sensitive source and was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA.

It has been learned that there is currently in existence in Moscow an international cadre training school. This is a Russian school, although two thirds of the 300 students are not Russian. There are no students in attendance from either the United States or Great Britain. Six students are known to be from Australia. Among other countries represented are France, Italy and India. There are also students from Africa in attendance.

Each student is scheduled to attend the school for two years. There is an English speaking section but after six months, all classes will be conducted in the Russian language. Russian is the basic language and all students have to study this language. The courses include Marxism-Leninism, tactics and labor history. The school has been described as being similar to the Lenin school.

This school is designed to train communist cadres. It is a relatively new school and some of the students are complaining that the teachers, all of whom are Russian, are not good because they do not know what is going on outside Russia. The intention is to enlarge the school in the future. Eventually, the number of students may be double the present enrollment of 300.

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

JWL:kmo  
(9)

63 JAN 31 1961

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Parsons
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Malone
- Mr. McGuire
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Trotter
- Mr. W.C. Sullivan
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Ingram
- Miss Gandy

*Document downgraded to Secret  
per 60324 w/ [Signature]*

~~TOP SECRET~~

Office of Security  
Department of State

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

This is being furnished for your information.

1 - Director  
Central Intelligence Agency BY LIAISON  
Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

*TO S. H. Horton  
Cela - 1/26/61  
OK*

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

Information set out herein furnished by CG 5824-S\* and was received as letterhead memorandum enclosure to Chicago airtel dated 1-16-61 captioned "Solo, IS - C."

~~TOP SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 1/11/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Jones	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing the essence of the November 14, 1960 speech of TENG Hsiao-ping to the meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia.

Including the representatives, translators, advisers, and technicians, approximately 300 people attended this meeting. The proceedings of this meeting were not made public. While 6 representatives of the CP, USA were present it is the opinion of CG 5824-S\* that no one else from the CP, USA delegation has notes which are as complete as those of CG 5824-S\*. For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~secret~~". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C. in accordance with instructions in ReBulet.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 1/4/61 and to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN and Steno [redacted] on 1/5/61.

1243  
1 - Bureau (Encls 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR) 96  
1 - New York (Encls 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR) 100-428091-1126  
100-134637 (SOLO)  
1 - Chicago  
JEK:jem  
(5)

GALE

At State cc CIA INI OSI  
G-2 ACSI (Airforce) JCS  
with 1 encl to each  
1/19/61  
JWL:Kmo

9 JAN 18 1961

59 FEB 2 1961

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 11, 1960

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960 SPEECH OF  
TENG HSIAO-PING TO MEETING  
OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

On November 14, 1960, the meeting of representatives of the eighty one Communist Parties and Workers' Parties, for the first time during the meeting, heard a speech by TENG Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China (CPC). The sessions of this meeting were held in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia.

Rudolfo Ghioldi, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina, was the chairman of the session during which TENG Hsiao-ping spoke. The following is the essence of the remarks made by TENG Hsiao-ping. C.P. - RUSSIA

"On behalf of the Central Committee of the CPC (CCCPC), I want to greet all the Parties of the world. The gathering together of representatives from eighty one Parties at this conference is a new development in the international movement. This shows a new upsurge in the movement. In 1957, we had a similar meeting but at that time we had more consultations before adopting the decisions and the Moscow Declaration and the Peace Manifesto.

"This present document was worked on for more than 20 days but we must say that the Moscow Declaration of 1957 still remains the guiding line even though this draft makes a correct analysis of the past three years. Unity was reached on some basic points. We also used some methods of consultation. This further helped unity.

b6  
b7c

1 Plut  
11/18/61/jws

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-1126



~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

"We hope for full discussion here in order to revise and to strengthen the draft document. We should try to remove those elements in the document that are a bar to unity so that this document, together with the Moscow Declaration, will unite our ranks. What I am saying and will say is the opinion of the CCCPC and Comrade MAO Tse-tung.

"It is disturbing that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU), on the eve of this meeting, distributed a 127 page letter which was a violent attack on the CPC and on Comrade MAO Tse-tung. This has enlarged our differences instead of uniting our ranks. The CPSU took advantage of a meeting in Moscow for the distribution of this letter outside its own ranks under favorable conditions. We will study this document and we are going to reply to it.

"The CPSU and the CPC are the largest Parties in the world in the camp of Communism. Unity of these two Parties should be able to withstand tests. We will do everything to help unity at this dignified conference.

"In regard to the current world situation, we can say that the old capitalist system is declining. Colonialism is falling apart and socialism is prospering.

"The legend that the CPC looks upon the present situation merely as an epoch of wars and revolution is nonsense. Lenin taught us that a revolutionary is fearless. MAO Tse-tung also taught us not to underestimate the enemy or overestimate him. MAO Tse-Tung also taught us how to prevent war.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

"At the Moscow meeting in 1957, Comrade MAO Tse-tung listed ten current events in the international situation and said that the conditions are favorable for world peace. He pointed out that in this new epoch, the anti-imperialists are gaining, that war is not inevitable, that the industrial output of the socialist camp is increasing and will be one third of the world's production. Further that this socialist production would influence the world and increase the prestige of the socialist camp.

"The United States is facing an economic crisis. There has been a revolution in Iraq and there was no intervention because the people were mobilized. The Cuban revolution took place in 1957 and it was the first breach in the Western Hemisphere. Latin America is on the road of revolutionary upsurge. Venezuela and Colombia have toppled the colonial regime. The national liberation movement in Africa has become a force in world policy. The Algerian people have been engaged in a war for six years now. Sixteen African countries have achieved their independence, even though some of this independence is not genuine. In South Africa, there are sharp struggles. There is a nationwide struggle in Japan. The workers and peasants in Japan have united and compelled the cancellation of the United States President's visit to that country. Premier Kishi was compelled to step down.

"In 1960, the South Korean people and the Turkish people overthrew their old regimes. In 1960, too, there was a coup in Laos which overthrew the United States sponsored regime. A big struggle is developing in South Viet Nam. In Europe and North America, there have been a number of successful strikes. In Argentina and in India, too, there are big strikes.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"In the last few years, there has been tremendous progress in the movement for world peace. In the past three years the tide has turned in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We witnessed the growth of the socialist system. We have seen and we will see more great changes. All of these events are pushing capitalism deeper into the general crisis. These things I have enumerated verify the 1957 thesis of Comrade MAO Tse-tung, that we are at a turning point, that the socialist and anti-colonial progress, together with the movement for peace, will achieve world wide victory over the imperialist minority.

"We never overestimated the power of imperialism, nor have we ever underestimated it either. I can quote MAO Tse-tung to prove this. At the 1957 Moscow Conference, Comrade MAO Tse-tung said, the east wind prevails over the west wind. Some of you questioned this definition but Comrade MAO Tse-tung made a detailed explanation and clearly stated what we mean by the west wind. He used a political parable from Chinese literature. He did not, as some of you said, give a geographical or meteorological explanation.

"It is wrong to say that because we talk of a wind from Asia that this is a departure from Marxism-Leninism or internationalism. In the CPSU letter of November 5, 1960, all the countries are put into the West. Europe, Africa and Latin America are mentioned. It is a capital crime to do this. It can create the idea that there is a menace coming from the East. In a 1957 speech Comrade MAO Tse-tung said, "modern leftism lacks common sense".

"We cannot overestimate the United States nor its nuclear weapons or overestimate its bases or underestimate the revolutionary power of the people. The way some Comrades talk, they create the impression that the revolutionary struggles of the people will give rise to wars.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

"Imperialism will not change its nature, not even in its dying days. The imperialist bloc is preparing for new wars. The United States is piling up mountains of armaments. It is the fighting task of the people of the world to take steps to prevent war, thus speeding the arrival of the revolution. The socialist countries cannot order the imperialists and tell them what they want them to do.

"Again I quote from the 1957 speech of Comrade MAO Tse-tung: 'to strategically slight the enemy is wrong. We must have a concrete account of the enemy. Unless we do, we make adventurous mistakes.'

"Regarding the 'paper tiger', it is a correct concept strategically speaking. No other attitude can be taken. If we slight the enemy both strategically and tactically, we make opportunistic mistakes. In the last analysis the people are all powerful. Imperialism is the 'paper tiger' but the people's ardor is what counts. Concretely speaking, this or that imperialist power can be a real tiger. But we looked at CHIANG Kai-shek from a strategic point of view and considered him a 'paper tiger'. This inspired our people to revolutionary struggle. But in specific battles, they were careful and acted as though we opposed a real tiger. This method multiplied our strength and we won.

"We say that United States imperialism is a 'paper tiger'. This has inspired our people to victory but in each struggle, we treat the United States as a real tiger. In regard to Taiwan and the United States withdrawal from this area, we have conducted negotiations now for five years. Despite the intrusion of our air and waters by the United States, we are careful. But time is on our side. Is it wrong to teach people to slight imperialism, to give them confidence in their strength?

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

"The letter of the CPSU describes imperialism, in the words of Lenin, as a giant with feet of clay. It would be correct if we suggested that the CPSU re-read Lenin on this. What is needed is a revolutionary method in which there is no overestimation of the forces of imperialism and no underestimation of the forces of peace. Such estimations lead to the right danger and to the left danger.

"I want to explain some basic viewpoints of the CPC. We have an attitude on war and peace. We want to prevent imperialism from launching a world war. MAO Tse-tung, in his Moscow speech of 1957, said that we are striving for at least fifteen years of peace. We would repeat this but at the same time point out that the revolutionary movement will develop and imperialism will disintegrate. It will become more difficult for imperialism to start a new world war.

"In 1954, we introduced five principles of peace. We signed treaties containing these principles of peace. We also asked for an atomic free zone in the Pacific and a non-aggression pact with the United States.

"The struggle for peace is very complicated. What is the source of modern war? War is the product and nature of capitalist imperialism. World Wars I and II were launched by the imperialists. United States imperialism is continuing on this path.

"We favor cooperation with bourgeois pacifists, but we should not minimize our differences with them. We must always explain that the source of war is imperialism. The Yugoslavians use the slander that the socialist camp can start a war. It is slanderous to charge us with a bellicose attitude or to say that we want war. Many other charges of this nature have been leveled against us. It is like saying that the war danger comes from China and not from United States imperialism. Comrade Khrushchev

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

attacked the 1957 statement of Comrade MAO Tse-tung in regard to nuclear war. Comrade Khrushchev is wrong. We are against the realization of socialism through war. We do not advocate nuclear war but we do not point to the devastation caused by nuclear war. We should not preach surrender. Some say that if nuclear war breaks out, it will destroy civilization. Should we surrender then?

"Comrade MAO Tse-tung points out that nuclear war may destroy one half of the world's population but the other half will be left. We do not advocate war nor are we against the efforts to prevent war. What then are the motives of those who attack us?

"What about the possibilities of a world war? This is possible but: 1) we also say that the relation of forces may possibly prevent such a war and, 2) at the same time we need to point out that a real danger of world war exists and we must mobilize the masses so that they will not be taken unawares. Some say this shows a lack of confidence in the peace forces and that this would demobilize the people, etc., etc. We do not say that World War III is inevitable. But since we say that the nature of imperialism has not changed, how can we be sure there will be no war?

"For the time being, United States imperialism has fallen behind in rockets but in a frenzied-like manner, it is piling up armaments. Great Britain, West Germany and Japan are doing the same thing. The danger of imperialism unleashing a new war is still great.

"The draft document points to the danger of war but it leaves out a very important point, that is a guarantee. Under what circumstances and when can war really be prevented? The deletion of this point from the document should be restored in order to expose the imperialist plotting of a new war."

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

The source pointed out, by way of explanation, that the representatives of the CPC argued that the original draft called for socialism in one of the major capitalist countries or in a majority of the countries of the world before peace can be guaranteed. The CPSU denied that this idea was in the original draft. The remarks of TENG Hsiao-ping continue.

"We need to heighten the vigilance of the people, strengthen defenses, increase production, etc., in the socialist countries. We should not spread the fear of war in the socialist countries. This could lead to the demobilization of the people and the creation of fear of war. The enemy will not listen anyway. Political consciousness will help us win a war. We should, therefore, strengthen the political work in the socialist countries.

"We cannot say that war can be eliminated from the world without eliminating capitalism. There are all kinds of war, just wars of liberation, civil wars, etc. Imperialism uses local wars to gain an advantage and may launch a world war. Therefore, we should not be unqualified opponents of all local wars.

"We cannot, under present conditions, prevent local wars or prevent the imperialists from launching a world war. We should give more support to peoples fighting revolutionary wars. Since World War II, the following wars have taken place:

The Chinese War  
The Indo-China War  
The Korean War and  
The Cuban War:

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

These wars contributed to the prevention of a world war. The November 5, 1960 letter of the CPSU says that this point of view is dangerous. We say a spark cannot start a world war. Such an idea would fetter revolutionary war.

"We favor the united front for peace on a world scale. The basic forces for peace are: the socialist camp headed by the U.S.S.R., the colonial peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as the world revolutionary movement. There are other allies from all strata of the population. However, the chief reliance will be on the socialist camp and the peoples of Asia and Africa and not on a few bourgeois statesmen. We believe in the exchange of visits between heads of states but we hold that the hope for peace cannot at any time rest on negotiations, but upon the people's strength. Even agreement depends upon a struggle of the peoples and the revolutionary struggles in the capitalist countries.

"We favor the banning of nuclear weapons. After some protracted struggles, we can even see some disarmament. In order to prevent a nuclear weapons war, the socialist camp should work hard to develop superiority in these weapons. The socialist camp should also conduct major struggles in the countries where the imperialists' bases are located.

"The slogan, a world without arms, a world without armies, is wrong. It is only correct to raise this slogan when it is raised in connection with socialism. Otherwise, this slogan is a departure from Marxism-Leninism. Armed forces are a part of states. If we had a world without arms or armies, it would mean that there are no states. This thought is based on a quotation from Lenin, Volume XXIII, Chinese Edition.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

"We cannot rely on diplomacy for disarmament. Only the people are dependable. We cannot place the cart before the horse. Until socialism triumphs, there will be no world without arms or wars.

"There are three conditions for peaceful co-existence and these are:

- 1) The socialist states exist as equals and give each other mutual support.
- 2) Peaceful co-existence between different social systems.
- 3) Give all out support to the revolutionary struggles of the peoples.

"Without these conditions, there is no peaceful co-existence.

"During the fifteen years since World War II, we have been engaged in a cold war. It may be possible in the future to achieve co-existence with some states but even this co-existence is a war of a sort. We of the CPC cannot agree that peaceful co-existence is a way to socialism. The peoples of the capitalist countries do not have to follow suit. Even if there is peaceful co-existence, there cannot be cooperation with the class enemy.

"Lenin always said there can be no end to wars unless the wars are tied to the end of capitalism.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"Socialist countries must give material and moral support to the oppressed. We outlined our view on this in the book 'Long Live Leninism'. We say, even if we repeat, if imperialism launches a war, we will wipe it out completely. This thought is also in Part Three of the draft declaration.

"The foundations of imperialism are being shaken. If the Communist Parties could reach the masses, they could win a victory of the people's regimes, pave the way to socialism, and create favorable conditions for peace. Imperialism uses troops to suppress the revolutionaries who fight for independence. In some countries, only through armed struggles have victories been achieved. Imperialism has other methods to subvert the former colonial states. United States imperialism practices these methods by setting up puppet regimes and involving them in military alliances. This is a new form of colonialism.

"Some countries are independent in form only. These countries are ruled through the national bourgeoisie without real reforms. The Communist Parties in these countries have a double revolutionary task. They have to lead the democratic revolution, fight for independence, and at the same time fight to establish the proletariat as the leader. The draft statement we have before us deals with this question of the national bourgeoisie. We cannot depend upon them. Only when the proletariat puts forth its own line and policy can dependence on the national bourgeoisie succeed. Even then, the proletariat cannot waver.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"The Communist Party of Indonesia formed a united front with the bourgeoisie. At the same time it exposes the reactionaries, the feudalists, and carries out its international line by supporting solidarity with China. The Indonesian alliance has two parts. On the one hand, there is the proletariat and the peasantry and on the other there is the patriotic bourgeoisie. However, the peasantry is the main base of this alliance. Unless this is so, Indonesian reaction will not be defeated. We learned this lesson after paying a great price in China.

"In regard to the Sino-Indian boundary question, we know that Nehru's government is divided. This government always considered Tibet and Nepal to be in their sphere of influence. That started the Tibetan revolution in 1959. We defeated it. They rudely interfered with our internal affairs and created pressure on our boundaries. We did not accept this. Then we hit back. Later we sought a settlement but despite our efforts for agreement, we could not solve the India-Nepal dispute because the ruling class of India refused.

"On this question, we differ with the CPSU. In the November 5, 1960 letter, the CPSU calls this a nationalistic approach. We hold that to give in to India would not help although the situation hurts the socialist camp and Parties. We have never asked the CPSU for rockets or help. We did not ask the India Party for help, either. But in the November 5, 1960 letter, the CPSU raises this question and condemns us. It is a complicated question. It does not help China. It gives advantages to India. It makes India more respected.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA.

~~TOP SECRET~~

"We regret that the Soviet Comrades still think their position is correct as they say in their November 5, 1960 letter. In this same letter, you misquote MAO Tse-tung. You are taking an anti-Chinese attitude, Comrades. Go ahead, the truth will come out.

"The Soviet Union was the first country to abolish unequal treaties, but after giving help to the Kuomintang, it turned anti-Soviet. The CPC, however, formed an indestructible alliance with the Soviet Union after the revolution. The Chinese Peoples Republic did not give up its policy of peaceful co-existence. We are still trying to reach an agreement with India. The socialist countries cannot change the foreign policy or the class nature of countries dominated by the bourgeoisie, in this case India.

"Some fraternal Parties in the capitalist countries may be working hard under difficult conditions in the fight for peace. Under these conditions, there are a variety of forms of struggle. The united front should be employed on specific issues. These issues are not struggles to overthrow capitalism, but Communists should at the same time, continue to fight for their policies, to educate the proletariat, ideologically and politically, and to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The controversy of the CPSU and the CPC regarding the transition to socialism is contained in the letter of November 5, 1960. This letter restates the views of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. We are being charged with a dishonest approach. Actually, the CPSU is trying to cover up in regard to the possibility of parliamentary transition. This is a fact. The CPSU, at the 20th Congress, made mistakes. Sure, they did mention violence but they put the stress on the parliamentary way to socialism. The 20th Congress of the CPSU denied that for every country, two types of preparation are necessary - for peaceful transition and for armed struggle. Even in the newly established

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

countries, military machines are being built. How can we say that the peaceful parliamentary road is possible? If you want proof of this, I suggest that you see the first draft of the Moscow Declaration of 1957. Only the peaceful way was mentioned in that draft.

"The CPC is always clear on the two ways to socialism. However, we always say that it is necessary to be prepared for the second way in order to seize power and to be prepared for armed rebellion, even if in the beginning the revolution is peaceful. From a tactical point of view we might sometimes say that the first way, the peaceful way, is possible. However, we always stress the second way.

"The CPSU quotes Lenin on the export of revolution and on armed transition to socialism in an attempt to show that Lenin was against both of these and that the CPC is against Lenin. This is a monstrous charge. Perhaps the CPSU thinks that the approach of the CPC is sectarian. This is a monstrous attack on the colonial people. The victory of the oppressed peoples depends on their own strength. However, we from the socialist countries, must give them all kinds of aid. In the socialist countries, even after the foundations of socialism have been built, there are still revolutionary tasks and conflicts with the class enemy. Capitalist influence will penetrate the socialist countries. Ideological work is therefore necessary in order to prevent the corrosion of the socialist states and to prevent the capitalist ideology from affecting the youth.

"Our task is to improve the socialist mode of production and to improve the superstructure. In a socialist society the contradictions between production and the superstructure are different than in a capitalist country. In

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

our discussion of ideology, we put less emphasis on the material things. We stress ideology and morality.

"In regard to the question of skipping stages in the building of socialism, we need a material base for a certain stage but we cannot hold back. In 1958, the CPC put forth the slogan, aim high. This was an effort to liberate the social productive forces. We established the communes. We scored outstanding achievements and we are now building urban communes. These communes are based on the specific conditions in China. It is true that we are confronted with some difficulties, but this is because we need more experience. Do not copy us. But do not mock us or attack us or look upon us as if we have the plague.

"Every socialist country should be able to obtain aid from fraternal countries. But every country should first make use of its own resources and manpower. Later on, on a voluntary basis, we can cooperate. Yet every country must first develop its own economy.

"The CPSU tries to find a nationalist deviation in our policy. The task of all the Communist Parties is to creatively apply Marxism-Leninism and to make new summaries and analyses. The 1957 Moscow Declaration pointed to revisionism as the main danger. Imperialism, in an effort to save itself, tries to fool the workers and to prove that Marxism-Leninism is outmoded.

"Many Parties cleaned out revisionists but it is wrong to say that revisionism is already smashed and that it needs no attention. Any ambiguity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism is dangerous and gives aid to modern revisionists.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"The Yugoslavian revisionists attempt to supplement Marxism-Leninism with bourgeois doctrine. All the Parties must fight modern revisionism. The analysis in the draft is far from adequate on this question. It is indeed confusing and needs to be supplemented. The Yugoslavian revisionists have not merely departed from Marxism-Leninism but they are renegades. They left Marxism-Leninism a long time ago. Some say that nationalism is a part of revisionism or even a chief feature of revisionism. This is absolutely wrong. The main characteristic of revisionism is the effort to disarm the working class and to cater to the needs of imperialism.

"We must also fight dogmatism. Tendencies toward sectarianism should be prevented. Sectarians are divorced from the masses. Close links with the masses are the guarantees against dogmatism and sectarianism. We support the struggle against sectarianism, which can become the main danger in some Parties. But the main danger for the international movement is revisionism. Big campaigns have been launched against sectarianism by some Parties. Actually these attacks are aimed against the CPC. It is a lie that the CPC is sectarian. The CPSU has played a role in leading this struggle against the CPC. This is how this question is placed in the CPSU letter of November 5, 1960.

"We must say that differences arose when the CCCPSU slackened its struggle against revisionism.

"We fought the mistakes of the dogmatists. MAO Tse-tung led this fight and this made the revolution in China possible. We talk of adapting Marxism-Leninism to China. The CPSU has misinterpreted this viewpoint of ours. We only want to link the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practices in China.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

We have the right to do this. Lenin said: "Marxism has not yet been completed". This is taken from a statement made by Lenin at the Second All Russian Congress of Peoples of the East.

"It is necessary to explore Marxism-Leninism independently because the conditions in China are different than those in Germany. Anyone who wants to slander us on this is wrong. LIU Shao-chi has quoted the CPSU on the adaptation of Marxism-Leninism to China. We support our leader MAO Tse-tung and his adaptation of Marxism-Leninism to China. He rallied the Party and the people. He inspired us and gave us the direction and victory. Marxists give credit to individuals in history.

"We oppose the cult of personality. We are not against the criticism of Stalin or his cult. However, we hold that Marxism-Leninism cannot be upheld merely by attacking the cult of personalities. The CPSU letter of November 5, 1960 is very wrong when it charges that I had agreed with the CPSU on the way the cult of Stalin's personality was attacked.

"Marxism never denied leaders. Leaders, as a rule, are not self-appointed. This is our view. Every revolutionary Party will have leaders who have experience and know how to link up with the masses. Every Party needs leaders with prestige.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"To develop a struggle for peace we need to consolidate our unity. Unity is the guarantee for the world victory of Marxism. The 1957 Moscow Declaration lays down a program for unity.

"There must be agreement on the international position and yet a certain independence in the solving of problems in the light of conditions in each country. Consultations are the only correct way and method. We need unanimous conclusions and not decisions by majority vote. It is wrong to place a controversy of criticism and self criticism as opposed to solidarity. We must make a distinction between our own criticism and the criticism of the enemy. What we need is comradely arguments since we believe in the same principles and fight under the same banner.

"The CPSU letter of November 5th charged that the CPC was critical in its September 10th letter. Because we were critical, therefore, we are supposed to be against unity. We made the necessary criticism of the CCCPSU, but we did not want to weaken our unity. On the contrary, our aim was to strengthen our unity. We did not use sharp criticism. In fact, we did not start it, but we want to make it clear that comradely criticism is alright among fraternal Parties.

"We must not, however, replace consultations with criticism. Inside a Party we have majority and minorities but internationally this is a different problem, because internationally we have no higher body. There is no Central Committee such as we have in each Party. The latest letter of the CPSU was wrong in dealing with this question of majority-minority. We cannot understand why the CPC is charged with refusing to consult. The CPSU quotes Lenin on this question, but Lenin deals with one single Party, not with an international movement. In fact, the Soviet comrades omitted a word in Lenin's quotation. They left out the word, Russian, and Lenin dealt with Russian organizational problems in that quotation.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

"Therefore, even in fraternal Parties a majority must sometimes be critical of itself. I do not mean to say that the delegations assembled here are not Marxists, but we do want to emphasize that we disagree with the CPSU because of their distortion of Lenin.

"We believe in Marxism-Leninism. This is the basis for our unity. If we do not agree now, we can leave it to the future to decide. In fact, we might say, leave it to the court of history and it will be decided.

"In the meantime, let us continue to consult. History can sometimes be proven in a few months. We have examples in our own international history that show a movement sometimes needs a new resolution a few months after it adopted one. We need unity and consultations, on fundamental principles. This was the method of the 1957 Moscow conference. We want to be on an equal footing. We are against haste. The Bucharest meeting was vicious, rude, and was not based on this above principle of equality and consultations.

"You might ask why we voted for the draft here at the end of October. We did because we thought we were getting closer to unity. After October, later on, you started another attack internationally; a vicious attack against the CPC. No Party should impose its views upon another. There can be no father and son relationship and there should be no interference in other fraternal Parties.

"The same applies to the relation between fraternal states. Not all the Parties which adopted the Moscow Declaration lived up to it. The CPSU replaced the wisdom of all Parties with their own 20th and 21st Congresses. We declare that certain Parties cannot enjoy special privileges.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"You may ask, if that is the case, how can we have unity? We solemnly declare that the CPC has lived up to all collective agreements and consultations. We made positive estimates of the 20th Congress, but we hold that it would be violating the principles of equality if we are asked to endorse the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

"We have a right to agree or not to agree with certain points in another Party's resolution or resolutions; in this case, the CPSU. The fraternal Parties can make their own decisions. They can adopt, they can endorse, or they can reject.

"On October 22nd Comrade Khrushchev said, and I am referring to a little private banquet, that no Party has to endorse the views of another Party. Why do you insist now? Why impose opinions of others upon us. At Bucharest, Khrushchev said that he agrees with PENG Teh-huai. This former Marshal is an anti-Party element. It was shocking to hear Comrade Khrushchev show sympathy for PENG Teh-huai.

"Why is the CPSU attacking Albania? Why is it interfering in the affairs of the Albanian State and Party? Is it because you gave them aid? Why treat Albania like Yugoslavia and threaten the withdrawal of aid?

"In the November 5th letter the CPSU called the anti-Party elements in Albania 'friends of the U.S.S.R.' ✓ The CPSU complained that these friends were punished. These are splitting activities, comrades of the CPSU.

"We want to emphasize that in the international movement there are no leaders or led. We do not operate on the principle of a minority submitting to the majority. Does the CPSU consider itself the leader in the international movement? Is it the head of the committee? What committee?

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

"We must reach unanimity on views instead of imposing them. You are carrying on a war against the CPC. You started this war long before we wrote our articles, compiled in the book 'Long Live Leninism', or before the meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Peking. This war against us will lead to division.

"To raise the questions of groupings and factions means disregarding the idea of consultation. You would transplant an inner type of situation to the world movement.

"The CPSU wants to create a split by charging us with splitting. We are charged with demanding special privileges. This is not so. All we are demanding is equal consultations. We ask for the right to reserve some opinions if we do not immediately agree. We stand on the principles of Marxism-Leninism despite the slanders and the charges about groupings and factions.

"We hold that to recognize the CPSU as the center is not artificial. It is not a mere phrase on our part. It is a natural outcome of decades of revolutionary struggle and experience. The Soviet Union is the biggest country in the socialist camp. It has rich experience. It has supported the socialist cause the world over and it is the leader in the struggle against United States imperialism.

"Comrade Khrushchev says that the CPSU does not want to be the head. He confuses things. The head is not the father, but the leader. Khrushchev says equal Party relationships are better. He says this on purpose. He wants to punish some other Parties. This is the reason for his logic. There are no subordinate Parties in the international movement. That is true, but if the Soviet Union is the center this is no contradiction to equality. The CPSU has this obligation and must assume this role.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"Now, a few words about the relations between the CPC and the CPSU. We are the two biggest Parties. For years our relations as Parties and countries were very good. We are grateful to the CPSU and to the Soviet Union for the support they have given to our revolution and later to the construction of socialism in China.

"When did the differences develop between us? Since Comrade Khrushchev became the leader and after the 20th Congress. But differences can be ironed out on such questions as peaceful transition, on the role of Stalin, on the situation in Hungary and Poland in 1956, etc. The CPC never concealed its views from the CCCPSU, but we did not bring our views into the public forum. In our September 10th reply we only answered the groundless charges of the June 21st letter of the CCCPSU.

"In the interests of solidarity there is no need to go into past details, but the language of the CPSU about sowing discord is bad and rude language. Up to 1957 our relations were good even though we had some differences then, too. How did this present controversy start? The U.S.S.R. wanted to impose on China's sovereignty. The U.S.S.R. insisted on establishing radar and radio stations in China and made other demands."

The source learned that one of the other demands was that the U.S.S.R. wanted a combined Russian-Chinese Navy under the command of the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R. also wanted to establish naval bases in China. The remarks of TENG Hsiao-ping continue.

"Now, on the statement of the U.S.S.R. 'expressing regret' on the Sino-India dispute. This was horrible. This sounded like a grandfather scolding a child and telling him to behave, and these attacks were made upon us before all the world. The CPC and Comrade MAO Tse-tung were charged with adventurous mistakes. There was interference in our

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

internal policies and affairs. Our communes were criticized by name. The policy of the leap forward was also attacked by Comrade Khrushchev. We say that these things are not permissible.

"All these can be characterized as an attack upon the CPC and the aim would be to separate the Party from the people by attacking our general line. We know, too, that when Comrade Khrushchev was in the United States, he criticized China in his talks with bourgeois leaders.

"In September, 1960, the comrades of the CPSU practically admitted that the Tass statement on India was issued to help facilitate better relations between the Soviets and the United States. This was supposed to help Khrushchev's trip to the Summit.

"Is this not prettifying and embellishing imperialism? We are happy that now the Soviet Union is exposing United States imperialism. However, there was a time not so long ago when Comrade Khrushchev attacked China and MAO Tse-tung but praised the United States and President Eisenhower. This cannot be explained to us as use of diplomatic language. Some of the statements were made when diplomacy was not necessary.

"In a CPSU letter to the fraternal Parties, dated October 14, 1959, President Eisenhower was praised as a man of peace.

"We also want to point out it is wrong to say or claim that whatever saving or economy there would be on armaments, that in the capitalist countries these savings could be used for social welfare. Such assertions cause illusions among the masses. The people who are carrying on a struggle against imperialism have become confused and wonder if we abandoned the 1957 Moscow Declaration.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"Everyone could see that our articles in 'Long Live Leninism' spearheaded a campaign against imperialism and against Yugoslavian revisionism. The Soviet comrades and others have been attacking our articles and have been critical without being concrete. What about the meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Peking? The report of the head of the World Federation of Trade Unions was wrong. His estimate of the international situation was wrong. In his report, he violated the 1957 Declaration. We pointed out these mistakes. What is wrong with that? The three articles compiled in the book 'Long Live Leninism' were not wrong and we deny that they contributed to the wrecking of the Summit. We had no such ideas in mind.

"Talking about scandalous behavior, in Bucharest the entire line of the CPC was attacked and at a banquet Comrade Khrushchev not only attacked us, but charged that we were Trotskyites and sectarians.

"Hundreds of articles were printed against the CPC. Some articles openly named China. On September 6th an article which openly threatened us, was published in 'Pravda'. One could conclude from this article that China was even threatened with blockade as if it were an onslaught of our enemies.

"Many times Comrade Khrushchev called us dogmatists. Then, he proceeded to take actions on the level of state relations. I will cite five actions:

1) On July 5, 1960, the CPSU informed us of the stopping of the publication 'Sino-Soviet'.

2) The CPSU advised us that they were stopping the publication, 'Druzhba' (Friendship).

3) The U.S.S.R. advised that it was withdrawing its experts from China without prior discussion with us. This actually resulted in the breaking of a treaty with us.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

4) The Soviet Union demanded the recall of our information officers from the Embassy in Moscow.

5) We received a note about the encroachment of borders.

"These can in no way be considered measures of equality. These were unilateral actions,

"Regarding Soviet aid to China, the CPSU said we did not appreciate this aid. This is not so. When we received support from the Soviet Union in the United Nations we were grateful, just as we are grateful for the aid we have received. However, we believe that all countries, big and small, should receive mutual aid; but support cannot be measured in terms of money. We have made loans to various countries amounting to 5 billion, 670 million yen. China suffered 400,000 casualties in Korea. We gave 5 billion yen to other countries. Speaking as internationalists, we consider these small obligations.

"On the charge of big nation chauvinism, that we made, we will continue to make this charge even if it is unpleasant for the Soviet comrades to hear this. These are facts. These things are known.

"In the September 10 letter and the talks we had, we were very frank. In October we practically reached an agreement on this draft statement which is before us. Unfortunately, the CPSU thinks that no attention to the problem of leading up to agreement is necessary.

"The CPSU, in its November 5th letter, restarted the controversy. They distorted our position. The summaries of the views of the CPC were all wrong. The aggravations are due to the violation of the relations of equality and fraternity by the CPSU. We hope that the Soviet comrades will see that and then they will understand why we raised.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

the question of big nation chauvinism. The CPSU can give some thought to this question of the demand for a joint fleet. They should also give some thought to their support for PENG Teh-huai. They should also think about the Bucharest attacks on us.

"We do not ask for special treatment but we will never accept a father and son treatment. We will insist on consultations on the basis of equality. We will insist on adherence to the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and we say that the Soviet comrades have departed from the Moscow Declaration.

"Concerning the articles in 'Long Live Leninism', we repeat that a new attitude toward these articles is needed on the part of the Soviet comrades. We would also insist on the withdrawal of the idea of a world without arms and without wars.

"The Moscow Declaration is still valid and will be valid in the future. The present draft statement, if it is adhered to with these corrections, would not be violated. After all, this is only a beginning. We want to repeat that the criticism of the CPSU by the CPC was in the spirit of good will despite the fact that the Soviet comrades think we are throwing stones at them.

"A charge is leveled against us that we love to argue. This is not so, and while we are at it we want to say we are not downgrading the CPSU or the Soviet Union. We only want to point out that mistakes need to be corrected and sometimes need to be criticized.

"Some phraseology in the present draft document needs to be changed. We will not impose our views on others and we hope that the others will not impose their views on us. Criticism should not be called Trotskyism or Titoism or given any other label. This criticism on our part will not hurt the Soviet Union. Our differences are still not insolvable.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 14, 1960  
SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

Even Comrade Suslov admitted this is so. There may be rough periods in our relations but we hope that we will not sharpen our relations and that in the end we will agree. Since our differences are only partial they can still be reduced and eliminated if we continue to consult on equal terms. If we are in general agreement on the basic line and on principle we can even have some arguments. These arguments would be to the benefit of the proletariat.

„Let us stop our open arguments. Let us start now and consult. Let us consolidate our unity and friendly relations. We of the CPC will make an effort. We will uphold Marxism-Leninism. We believe the dark clouds will pass over us. We of the CPC believe we can restore our relations with the CPSU. Even if they will continue thinking differently we will persist. There is need for unity between the two Parties and our two countries. Proletarian internationalism requires this. In the storms ahead the people will see that we stand with the CPSU and the Soviet Union and with all the fraternal Parties in the socialist camp.

„If the division in the socialist camp worsens it will mean catastrophe. We are going to try to avoid this. The imperialists are working to undermine the solidarity of the socialist camp and to undermine the Communist movement. We should work to disappoint the enemy and make him unhappy. We should do things for the happiness of the people.”

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 1/19/61

REC-19

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

CG 5824-S\* orally furnished the information on the following page to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 1/13/61. It concerns an increase of 1,000 in Russian subscriptions to "The Worker".

GALE

- ③ - Bureau (AM) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM)  
1 - Chicago

JEK:ntb  
(5)

EX-112

REC-39

100-428091-1127

20 JAN 21 1961

CC: Wick

cc: B'gard

ENCLOSURE

Approved:

63 FEB 1 1961

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

**INCREASE IN RUSSIAN  
SUBSCRIPTIONS TO  
"THE WORKER"**

USA  
USSR

ALEKSEI ANDREEVICH GRECHUKHIN, who is in charge of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) and the United States in the North and South American section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, stated in the latter part of 1960 that Russian subscriptions to "The Worker" would be increased by 1,000 on January 1, 1961.

USSR  
USA

While in Moscow in November, 1960, JAMES JACKSON was attempting to get other CPs to take subscriptions or to increase the amount of their subscriptions to "The Worker".

JACKSON said that even if the total foreign circulation exceeds domestic circulation the increase in revenue could be used for an occasional free distribution of "The Worker" in various areas in the United States.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

100-428091-1127

- 1 -

ENCLOSURE

~~TOP SECRET~~

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. [redacted]

January 24, 1961

BY LIAISON

Mr. Allen W. Dulles  
Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Administration Building  
2430 E Street, N. W.  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Allen:

My recent correspondence supplied you with information concerning the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow, Russia, during November, 1960.

At a banquet held in the Kremlin on December 4, 1960, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev expounded his doctrine on communist revolutions, Yugoslavia as a socialist country and the deceitful use of personal diplomacy. The enclosed memorandum sets forth details of the expressions of Khrushchev.

This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source which has furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA. Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication and the enclosure be afforded careful security and their use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

I am making available this information to other appropriate officials of the Government.

Sincerely,  
REC-9

100-428091-1128

19 JAN 26 1961

Tolson  
Mohr  
Parsons  
Belmont  
Callahan  
Conrad  
DeLoach  
Malone  
McGuire  
Rosen  
Trotter  
W.C. Sullivan  
Tele. Room  
Ingram  
Gandy

57 JAN 30 1961

Enclosure

100-428091

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

JWL:kmo

(7)

~~TOP SECRET~~

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b6  
b7C

JAN 24 7 45 PM '61  
READING ROOM

5-Just

~~TOP SECRET~~

Mr. Allen W. Dulles

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

Information set forth in enclosure furnished by CG 5824-S\* and was contained in letterhead memorandum enclosure to Chicago airtel dated 1-17-61 captioned "Solo, IS - C."

- 2 -

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

Office of Security  
Department of State

Also enclosed are four memoranda which contain information relating to the communist parties in Latin America. This material includes:

1. The December 3, 1960, meeting of Latin-American communist parties in Moscow.
2. Statements by Rudolfo Ghioldi and Arnaldo Martinez Verdugo, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Mexico, at the December 4, 1960, meeting of Latin-American communist parties.
3. Summary of remarks of Anibal Escalante, a Secretary of the People's Socialist Party of Cuba, at the final meeting of Latin-American communist parties in Moscow.
4. Information concerning the current situation in the Communist Party of Brazil.

This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA.

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication and its enclosures be afforded careful security and their use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

Enclosures (8)

1 - Director  
Central Intelligence Agency (Enclosures 8) BY LIAISON  
Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

to S.A. [unclear]  
can - 1/27/61  
[unclear]

1 - Director of Naval Intelligence (Enclosures 8) BY LIAISON

to ONI [unclear]  
1-27-61  
[unclear]

1 - Office of Special Investigations (Enclosures 8) BY LIAISON  
Air Force

Attention: Chief, Counterintelligence Division

Rel [unclear]  
1/27/61  
[unclear]

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

Office of Security  
Department of State

- 1 - Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (Enclosures 8)  
Department of the Army *TO ACST 1/27/61* BY LIAISON

Attention: Chief, Security Division

- 1 - Major General Robert A. Breitweiser, USAF (Enclosures 8)  
Director for Intelligence BY LIAISON  
The Joint Staff  
Room 2E966 *Del 1/27/61 mwb*  
The Pentagon  
Washington 25, D. C.

- 1 - Major General James H. Walsh (Enclosures 8) BY LIAISON  
Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence  
Department of the Air Force  
The Pentagon *Delivered 1/27/61*  
Washington 25, D. C.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

Information contained in enclosures was furnished by CG 5824-S\* and was set out in letterhead memoranda enclosures to eight Chicago airtels, all dated 1-16-61 and all captioned "Solo, IS - C."

- 3 -

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 06-29-2011

1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. [ ]

100-428091

BY LIAISON

Date: January 26, 1961  
To: Office of Security  
Department of State  
From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Information has been received from an extremely sensitive source which has furnished reliable information in the past that Aleksei Kirichenko was removed from the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) because he had started to build a political machine with security forces. It was also learned that Boris Ponomarev, member of the Central Committee of the CPSU, is due for a big promotion, possibly to the Presidium of the CPSU.

This information was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA. Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

This is being furnished for your information.

1 - Director  
Central Intelligence Agency BY LIAISON

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

NOTE ON YELLOW:

LOL XE

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

Information made available by CG 18824-S7 and contained in letterhead memorandum enclosure to Chicago airtel dated 1-18-61 captioned "Solo, IS - C."

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Parsons  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Malone  
Mr. McGuire  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. W. Sullivan  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Ingram  
Miss Gandy

JWL:kmo

(9)

59 FEB 2 1961

1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

1-27-61  
Delivered  
OK

b6  
b7C

Handwritten signature/initials.

Handwritten notes: 100-428091-1130, 100-428091-1130

Handwritten signature/initials.

Handwritten notes: 7, just

F B I

Date: 1/10/61

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
 (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL  
 (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)

SOLO  
 IS - C

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau are seven copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing the essence of a speech delivered by NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV on November 23, 1960, to the meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia.

Including the representatives, translators, advisors and technicians, approximately 300 people attended this meeting. The proceedings of the meeting were not made public. While six representatives of the Communist Party, USA, were present it is the opinion of CG 5824-S\* that no one from the CP, USA, delegation has notes which are as complete as those of CG 5824-S\*. For this reason, and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated November 2, 1960, the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions in above Bulet.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN and Stenographer [redacted] on January 5, 1961.

③ 1243  
 1 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 1 - New York (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 100-134637 (SOLO)  
 1 - Chicago  
 JEK:LMA/JVK  
 (5)

GALE

REC-39

EX-102

25 JAN 12 1961

59 FEB 1 1961

Approved: J. Sale  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D.C.  
January 10, 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 23, 1960, SPEECH OF  
NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV TO THE MEETING  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

On November 23, 1960, the meeting of the representatives of the 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties for the second time during the meeting heard a speech by Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCPSU). The sessions of this meeting were held in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a Vice Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, was the Chairman of the session at this time. The speech of Khrushchev was an answer to speeches of TENG Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China (CPC), and Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Albanian Party of Labor. The essence of Khrushchev's remarks follow.

"Our delegation has already spoken. I did not intend to speak again but the speeches of TENG Hsiao-ping and Enver Hoxha compel us to speak again. This present meeting is very useful. We all rejoice that, thanks to Marxism-Leninism, the policies of the Communist Parties used in the creative spirit have resulted in the growth of the Communist movement. The speakers have overwhelmingly shown a desire and a spirit to work out our problems.

"The draft we have before us is correct in characterizing the present epoch, the current situation and deals very aptly with strategy and tactics. All of us agree that the draft statement is supported as a Marxist-Leninist document for the world movement. This statement, and the Declaration of 1957, can be a guide for all Parties. One billion people follow our meeting with great interest. The workers in the capitalist countries, too, are watching and want answers. Those people fighting for independence expect answers and replies from us. All the progressive people want an answer from us on how to prevent a nuclear war.

"The imperialist press is following our meeting and many slanderous articles have appeared about our conference.

~~TOP SECRET~~

ENCLOSURE

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-428091-1131  
1/18/61  
JCS  
1/18/61  
JCS

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 23, 1960, SPEECH OF  
NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV TO THE MEETING  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA.

~~TOP SECRET~~

As a result of this meeting the creative treasure chest of the world Communist movement will be enriched. We, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the Party of the great Lenin, thank all the fraternal Parties for the confidence they have in us. We will try to live up to this vote of confidence.

"In the heat of discussion people many times say things that are normally not said. It would, therefore, be good if we would avoid this type of argument when we are discussing questions of principle. Although many bad things have been said here, we of the CPSU will not reply. We will take up the questions of principle and then we propose to issue a memorandum to answer some falsehoods."

Source advised that despite the above remark by Khrushchev concerning the issuance of a memorandum, no such memorandum was issued. The remarks of Khrushchev continue.

"This draft statement which we are discussing is of great significance. The part dealing with the balance of force is correct. The definition of the epoch is correct. The thesis dealing with the transition from capitalism into socialism is correct.

"But I want to emphasize chiefly the definition of our epoch. The chief distinction of our time is that the world socialist system is the chief factor in the world situation. It is not enough to cling to old formulas. We have to have up-to-date policies to guide us. We are in agreement that the imperialists might have started a war a long time ago if they were not afraid of the world socialist camp, but they, too, must think before they embark upon such a gamble. What would be the result of such a gamble? It can only lead to the collapse of capitalism."

Source advised that at this point Khrushchev repeated that the socialist camp is advancing in every field and repeated some of the arguments of his first speech. The remarks of Khrushchev continue.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 23, 1960, SPEECH OF  
NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV TO THE MEETING  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

"Everyone here has agreed on the need to prevent nuclear war. This is the main task. To prevent war should be our chief aim. We are agreed that peace is the cornerstone of all our policies. Lenin repeated this. There is nothing more important. There is no more important task in the contemporary epoch than the task of preventing war. Lenin agitated our Party and led it in an uncompromising struggle against imperialism, but he also preached friendship.

"Lenin said that capitalism, even on its deathbed in its last throes, can cause suffering. This is why we are vigilant. We are prepared in case capitalism wants to cause more suffering of humanity by unleashing a war. We do not want to scare the people but we must give the people facts in order to mobilize them. We cannot underestimate imperialism. How can we when they have all these bases, modern weapons, etc?

"But we cannot underestimate the working people. When the Chinese comrades say that this warning of the people about the destructiveness of nuclear war is preparation for surrender or submission to blackmail of nuclear threats, we must reply that the Chinese comrades are wrong; that the CPSU is only giving the facts to the people. Can you imagine such charge against the Party of Lenin; that is, a Party that is ready to surrender, that submits to blackmail and so on? The Party that led the great revolution, the Party that defeated all invasions, the Party that made such great sacrifices in World War II to defeat Fascism. Yet people will fling these slanderous charges against us.

"The world must acknowledge that the peace policies of the U.S.S.R. are dynamic, that the U.S.S.R. gives initiative in the fight for peace and initiative to all socialist countries in their foreign policy. The prestige of imperialism is declining, yet we are advised by some to keep quiet, not even to advise our Army personnel, which is being prepared in case of a nuclear attack, about the new weapons of imperialism. If our armed services are ignorant of these new weapons and their effect, how can they defend themselves or use their own weapons?

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 23, 1960, SPEECH OF  
NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV TO THE MEETING  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"We cannot agree with TENG Hsiao-ping about stopping the propaganda that war can be prevented or that we have to use his argument that war cannot be prevented until we have socialism in the entire world. His argument is completely wrong. We have to organize and mobilize the people for disarmament and peace. I want to emphasize that for us these are not just slogans. These things are real. Even Frederick Engels in the last century showed that these things are possible; that is, the stopping of war and disarmament even while we have capitalism. Lenin, himself, many a time proposed complete or partial disarmament. The capitalists refused. If they refuse, Lenin said, we will expose them.

"Peaceful co-existence is the keystone of relations between the socialist and capitalist countries. Our Party always believed that varied roads and problems faced the proletariat in the struggle for revolution and we did not leave out of consideration the arms struggle, too. By example we see how peaceful co-existence extends the capitalist contradiction, helps the people, and extends the influence of the Communist Parties. Peaceful co-existence does not mean that we should give up our preparedness, or vigilance, or be unprepared to deliver retaliatory blows against the imperialists. The world knows that we got the U-2. This, itself, was a warning to imperialism. But that is not the question. We are prepared. The question is how to use our opportunities to prevent world war, to prevent bloodshed, to prevent violence.

"The question of the diversity of forms of transition to socialism is a big problem. The Communist Party of China (CPC) in their letter charged that we made two mistakes: 1) that we stressed only peaceful transition; 2) that we denied preparations for non-peaceful transition. This statement is a falsehood. We said in our 20th Congress and the Moscow Declaration that the degree of violence we use depends on the resistance of the bourgeoisie. We even pointed out in our resolution, as I did in my first speech, that in a number of capitalist countries where the capitalist class is strong, where there is an acute class struggle, where there is a big military establishment, that violence may be inescapable.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 23, 1960, SPEECH OF  
NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV TO THE MEETING  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

"Note this Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping. The CPSU made this claim at the 20th Congress. We proceed from necessity of revolutionary transformation of the capitalist society to violence and civil war, only from necessity. We did, however, also say that in some countries favorable conditions may create the possibility for peaceful transition. Lenin taught us that this was possible, even in Russia. From February to July (1917) it was very peaceful. Lenin said that the possibility for a peaceful transition was a reality at that time, even though he believed that it is a rare thing. But Lenin also criticized those who argued against the desirability of peaceful transition.

"Pay attention to this, Comrades of the CPC. But I repeat what I said at the 20th Congress, that in a number of countries it may be necessary to use violence. And yet we talked of peaceful possibilities. We also very concretely gave the conditions for such. The conditions must be favorable for carrying out radical social changes. We also showed very clearly how to transform ordinary parliamentary institutions into peoples' institutions.

"The CPC should study the programs of some other Parties on this question. We support the thesis that it is for the proletariat and its vanguard to decide what method and what program to use in their revolution in keeping with their own situation.

"The further development of the national liberation movement is of great concern to us. This movement is delivering blows against imperialism in Asia and in Africa. Forty countries in recent years have gained their independence. The United States, Great Britain, France, West Germany and others are trying to prevent the advance of these oppressed peoples. Lenin understood the anti-imperialist content of such movements. Asia is the ancient cradle of civilization and is now doing a great deal in freeing itself from imperialism.

"These newly established countries need peace for their development. We need to win these countries to our support and if they can be tied to the socialist states a big and real blow

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 23, 1960, SPEECH OF  
NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV TO THE MEETING  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

could be delivered against imperialism. We would like to see these states developing socially, but first of all we should win these for peace and we should win people like Nehru, Sukarno, Nasser, and others, for the cause of peace. The resolution which we have before us will help the democratic forces of these countries. We are building the Aswan Dam in Egypt. Our flag is flying over these buildings. Nasser may someday go, but these projects will remain as symbols of socialism and help the people of these countries later on the road to socialism.

"Today we are engaged in a struggle for the hearts and minds of people. Africa is a great example. Algeria fires the hearts of all of us. All of the African struggles, just like the Cuban struggles, enthuse and inspire the people, not only in Latin America, but the world over. There is great ferment all over Africa, in many countries, and do not believe that South Africa will remain a fortress for imperialism. It will fall. We must help the African people throw off the yoke of imperialism and colonialism. We must help them.

"There is a new battle front against United States imperialism in Latin America. People now know that Latin America is no longer a mere appendage of United States imperialism. Communist influence will increase and our Communist Parties will lead Latin America in the future to victory, just as the heroic Cuban Revolution, which for two years now has repelled the imperialist attacks.

"All Communists take pride that the theories of Marx, Lenin and Engels are winning. We have no ready-made answers on the building of Communism. Each country should consider its conditions. Lenin did find some answers among the masses. He taught us to study real life. He never separated theory from practice. When Lenin helped create the new socialist state he occupied himself with very practical problems, such as the building of an army, electrification, libraries, foreign policies, etc., etc. You cannot separate theory from practice.

"The strength of Marxism-Leninism is its link with life. The most honorable work for Communists when they are in power is

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 23, 1960, SPEECH OF  
NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV TO THE MEETING  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

the translation of theory into practice. Even prior to the victory of power the theoretical aspects of socialism must be put into practice and later must again be put into practice to prove the validity of the theory of scientific socialism."

The source offered the opinion that the following remarks of Khrushchev were intended for MAO Tse-tung even though he was not named by Khrushchev.

"It cannot be that some sit in their study and concoct theories of socialism while some go out and build. Political leaders are not exempt from political work. It is easy to discuss theory. You can be right or wrong. But this is not so for a person who is proclaimed as a leader where you need to study his every word.

"This is what we call the cult of personality. We expose mistakes. We censured the personality cult of Stalin and we did right. Our people know it and they praise us for it. This was not easy, but we cleared the atmosphere so that we breathe easier now, contrary to the Chinese and the Albanians.. We could not have had the 20th Congress otherwise. We could not have avoided the truth about Stalin. We liberated thousands of people from prison and labor camps. We had to tell this gory truth to these people and all the people--the people who had been wronged, the people who had suffered. We were morally correct. If the personality cult of Stalin would not have been exposed at this time we would not have what we call Leninist norms of work.

"We solved this problem at the 20th Congress, but some thought that since Stalin is dead, let's forget this problem. But he left us an inheritance and a method. Lenin, in his will, dealt with Stalin. He pointed out that Stalin was not fit for this highest office. Stalin was a terrible person. Sometimes you would talk to him and he would look at you and say your eyes look shifty today, and this would result sometimes in the disappearance of a comrade.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 23, 1960, SPEECH OF  
NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV TO THE MEETING  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~SECRET~~

"Some members of our leading Committee never saw a Central Committee document. Stalin destroyed thousands of the best Communists. Could we have kept quiet? We had to tell the truth. Sure we give him his due during a certain period, but let's keep in mind that the Party worked, not only Stalin worked. The Party worked, the people worked. When we shook off the shackles of the cult of the personality the people were free. They felt free, they braced themselves proudly and we began to do creative work and accomplish great feats. When we speak of Stalin we speak not only of his personality alone, but we speak of his methods, and these methods were exposed. At the 22nd Congress, which is coming, we will not deal with Stalin, but we will expose and nip in the bud any such phenomenal relation to the methods of Stalin.

"This cult business was not limited to the U.S.S.R. They had it in Hungary; they had it in Poland. Many went to prison as the result of the method of the cult of the individual. Those who criticized us were, themselves, subjected to the cult of the personality.

"Before our Congress we began to think of many problems. We brought these to the 20th Congress. Some Parties heard or read these proposals. They also read the report on Stalin. Albanian Comrade Hoxha read it. He said nothing. When were you sincere, Hoxha? Hoxha got up here and said he disagreed with us. Maybe he disagreed with us even before Christ. But this is not so. When we discussed Yugoslavia with him he said he did not know. He did not commit himself. Records will disprove all that Hoxha said here.

"The Cominform Parties were informed. The Albanian Party of Labor in 1954 received a letter from the CPSU on the Yugoslav question. Hoxha and Albanian Comrade Kapo read this letter. Hoxha even answered it and said he agreed with the proposals of the CPSU on Yugoslavia that we must make some approaches and reach some agreements. What do you want, Hoxha, a notary to prove this? If you do, we will do that, too. This letter was signed. I have an answer from you and it is signed by Enver Hoxha.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 23, 1960, SPEECH OF  
NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV TO THE MEETING  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

"In May, 1956, at the 3rd Congress of the Albanian Party, Comrade Hoxha again agreed with the CPSU. But who wants to continue to argue with Hoxha.

"In my first speech I already said what I think about the draft statement. I said that the CPSU agrees with it. I also said that we disagree with the part which says that the CPSU stands at the head of the socialist camp, etc., etc. I still disagree. This idea is foreign to us. It reminds us of the cult of the personality. We suggest that it be taken out.

"Regarding the question of strengthening our unity in the draft statement, the CPSU re-affirms and resolutely defends this part of the statement as being correct. We believe that this is correct and strengthens the statement.

"We agree also with the part of the statement which deals with revisionism as the main danger but sees the need for fighting dogmatism.

"The CPSU sees the need for unity and the CPSU expresses gratitude to all the Parties for the confidence which they have in us. No Party or group of Parties should impose its views on the majority. To arrive at an agreed position it is sometimes necessary to make concessions, but not concessions that will disrupt our unity and lead to more discord. Groups and factions are not permissible. They do not reckon with the opinion of the majority.

"We appeal to the CPC to consider their dangerous course. It is the urgent wish of all Parties that the CPC consider this. If the CPC thinks that if it admits its errors or mistakes this is a humiliation, this will not help the movement. We hope that the Communist Party of China will heed the collective opinion of this meeting and carry through the behest of Lenin about unity.

"This conference is composed of veterans of the Communist movement from the whole world. The flower of the

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 23, 1960, SPEECH OF  
NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV TO THE MEETING  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

Communist world movement is present here. It would be incomprehensible if our Chinese brothers did not heed the voice of their comrades. We cannot turn our movement into a debating club. The destiny of humanity is at stake. The two systems are in a Titanic struggle in this period. The enemy watches, awaiting the outcome.

"We have discussed all of the main and fundamental questions. From this meeting we should carry the spirit of unity for socialism to the entire world. The question is how to end our differences. We must do this. We must overcome our differences. If we fail to find wisdom and energy to resolve these, the entire movement will suffer. The imperialists and their henchmen flatter themselves. They think that we will end in disagreement. One effort cannot solve our differences. It is not like a diplomatic apology where just words are used. We Communists must prove unity in deeds. We should, at this time, recollect all the fighters who have fallen in battle. We send greetings to all these underground fighters and to the fighters who are in prison.

"In behalf of our comrades, I say that the CPSU will ever be loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the friendship of peoples, and to proletarian internationalism."

The Communist Party, USA, has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 1/18/61

39

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. T. Iron	_____
Mr. M. L.	_____
Mr. D. L.	_____
Mr. B. L.	_____
Mr. J. L.	_____
Mr. P. L.	_____
Mr. R. L.	_____
Mr. S. L.	_____
Mr. T. L.	_____
Mr. W. L.	_____
Tele. R. L.	_____
Mr. H. L.	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46) Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division 1 copy of a letterhead memorandum containing information pertaining to ALEKSEI KIRICHENKO and BORIS PONOMAREV.

The letterhead memorandum has been classified "~~Secret~~" since CG 5824-S\* obtained the information in private discussion with PONOMAREV and NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS. The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., to further protect CG 5824-S\*.

b6  
b7C

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/17/60.

1-1243 1-1243 *extra copies sent*  
3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - New York (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
100-134637 (SOLO)  
1 - Chicago  
JEK:jem  
(5)

GALE

REC-39

100-428091-113.2

CC - Wick  
cc - B. Jordan

ENCLOSURE

59 FEB 1 1961

Approved: James H. Gale

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

Per



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 18, 1961

~~SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

INFORMATION CONCERNING  
ALEKSEI KIRICHENKO AND  
BORIS PONOMAREV

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

*RUSIA*  
Boris Ponomarev, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCPSU), stated during the latter part of 1960 that Aleksei Kirichenko was removed from the Presidium of the CPSU because he had started to build a political machine with security forces. *RUSIA*

*RUSIA*  
The statement of Ponomarev was later confirmed by Nikolai Vladimirovich Mostovets, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the CCPSU. Mostovets also stated that Ponomarev is due for a big promotion, possibly to the Presidium of the CPSU.

~~SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

100-428091  
ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~  
1152

F B I

Date: 1/18/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing the comments of CG 5824-S\* on the results of the November, 1960 meeting in Moscow, Russia, of representatives of 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties.

Inasmuch as some of the comments indicate that the source was a participant in the meeting and there were only 6 representatives from the CP, USA at the meeting, it is felt that the information should be classified "secret" if it is disseminated outside the Bureau. The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C. to further protect CG 5824-S\*

The material in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN in the form of dictaphone dictabelts on 1/11/61.

1243 1-1243 the ends destroyed  
3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (RM) (AM) (RRR)  
1 - New York (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
100-134637 (SOLO)  
1 - Chicago  
JEK:jem  
(5)

GALE

REC-39

JAN 19 1961

59 FEB 1 1961

Approved: *JH Sale*

Special Agent in Charge.

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 18, 1961

~~SECRET~~

COMMENTS ON RESULTS OF THE  
NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA OF 81 COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, and who is in a position to do so, has furnished the following comments on the November, 1960 meeting in Moscow, Russia, of representatives of 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties.

The struggle in the November, 1960 meeting in Moscow, Russia of representatives of 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties was sharp and bitter. There was no agreement between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), supported by the majority of the other Communist Parties, and the Communist Party of China (CPC), until the last day of this Conference.

Until a couple of days before the end of this meeting on December 1, 1960, it seemed that there would be no joint statement and that the CPC would not sign either the communique or the statement. There was a threat of a split and a fear that the issuance of a statement without the signature of the CPC would have a terrible effect upon the international Communist movement. Because of this and after some skirmishes, private conferences and debates, a final agreement was reached to strike from the statement the most important point referring to groupings and factionalism. This, in effect, gave the CPC veto power over the will of the majority and resulted in a statement that was adopted unanimously.

Will this unity last? It is difficult to say. The Russians did succeed in bringing the Chinese before the bar of world Communist opinion. In this manner, two things were accomplished:

~~SECRET~~

100-428091-1133

ENCLOSURE



COMMENTS ON RESULTS  
OF THE NOVEMBER, 1960  
MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA OF 81 COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES

~~SECRET~~

1) They compelled the Chinese, at least in words, to retreat from their adventurous tactics in the field of foreign policy. Note the use of the phrase, at least in words. What the Chinese will do in deed is another question. Ideologically, the CPC was in no position to defend its aggressive moves which meant war in the opinion of most of the participants at the meeting and in particular, the Soviet representatives.

2) They halted, for the time being in any case, the open challenge on the part of the Chinese to take over the leadership of the international Communist movement. The Chinese will not give up this aim. When the Chinese accepted the concession given to them, it was not really because of the satisfaction of their principled demands. The economic and political situation compelled them to try to reach some working agreement with the Soviet Union and the rest of the Communist camp and then, of course, to try to win support from the other CPs in the world.

It would not be correct to think that the Chinese are a small minority in the international Communist movement. While the overwhelming majority of the Parties supported the CPSU, it is a fact that the Chinese do have a lot of sympathy in Asia, Africa and in parts of Latin America.

The world situation will undoubtedly affect the relations between the Soviet Union and China. If tensions ease then the relations between China and the Soviet Union will cool. There is no question but what Russia sees in China a real challenge. If, on the other hand, the world situation becomes sharper, it is possible that the Chinese will extend their adventurous policies and that they will talk the Russians into giving more support to the countries ostensibly fighting for liberation. This would be particularly the case in the more backward regions of the world. Also, if the world situation becomes tenser,

~~SECRET~~

COMMENTS ON RESULTS  
OF THE NOVEMBER, 1960  
MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA OF 81 COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES

---

~~SECRET~~

it is quite possible that the Russians will agree with the Chinese that the various CPs should engage in sharper struggles, adopt a more rigid attitude toward all groupings in society and in this way, continue the cold war.

At the same time, it is well to point out that immediately after the close of the meeting of 81 CPs and Workers' Parties, Nikita Khrushchev went on his merry way in regard to questions of policy as he had done prior to the adoption of the statement on December 1, 1960. There was evidence of this in his remarks at a private banquet in the Kremlin on December 4, 1960.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
Immediately after the meeting, the CPSU arranged for a tour and appearances by LIU Shao-chi, Assistant Chairman of the CCCPC. He appeared at large gatherings in Leningrad, Minsk, and Moscow. The theme of these meetings was unity and undying friendship between China and Russia.

While all of this was going on, the leadership of the CPSU was engaging in private meetings with the various delegations of CPs from all over the world. The CPSU leaders told these delegations that they were not sure of the eventual outcome of the dispute with the CPC. They hoped that there would be unity and there would be a common viewpoint. They said, this is what all the Parties should fight for, but that the Parties should not give up their principles. They should continue their fight for peace. They should have good relationships between themselves and in particular, with the CPSU.

One of the spokesmen for this opinion and policy of the CPSU was Boris Ponomarev, a member of the Central Committee and the head of the International Department. He also said that various Parties might also have good relations with the CPC because this relationship may be necessary to influence the Chinese to overcome their past mistakes and to get a better idea of the real world.

~~SECRET~~

COMMENTS ON RESULTS  
OF THE NOVEMBER, 1960  
MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA OF 81 COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES

~~SECRET~~

He said, obviously, the Chinese are not acquainted with conditions and circumstances in various parts of the world.

The CPSU made a really strong bid for unity and for internationalism at the November meeting. Its leaders were even self-critical in pointing out that in the past, they might have neglected the fraternal Parties.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 1/10/61

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)

SOLO  
 IS - C

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau are seven copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing the essence of a speech delivered by ENVER HOXHA, First Secretary of the Albanian Party of Labor, on 11/16/60, to the meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia.

Including the representatives, translators, advisors and technicians, approximately 300 people attended this meeting. The proceedings of the meeting were not made public. While six representatives of the Communist Party, USA, were present it is the opinion of CG 5824-S\* that no one from the CP, USA, delegation has notes which are as complete as those of CG 5824-S\*. For this reason, and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D. C., in accordance with instructions in above Bulet.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SA'S JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN and Stenographer [redacted] on 1/5/61.

GALE

③ - Bureau (Enc. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 1 - New York (Enc. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 100-134637 (SOLO)

1 - Chicago  
 JEM:LMA/MDW

59 FEB 1 1961  
 722

REG-39

Approved: *J. Gale*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

Wick



Q  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 10, 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
SPEECH OF ENVER HOXHA TO THE  
NOVEMBER MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

*ALBANIA*  
On November 16, 1960, the meeting of the representatives of the 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties heard a speech by Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor. The sessions of this meeting were held in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia. Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, was Chairman of the session at this time. This is the essence of Hoxha's remarks.

"When we force the imperialists to disarm we will also force peace. We will never conceal from the Albanian people the imperialist nature of aggression. It is not permissible to flirt with or embellish United States imperialism. Our Party holds that we should not allow any ideological breach. All of us must have the same Marxist-Leninist attitude toward our enemy.

"The socialist camp is headed by the U. S. S. R., which is a force in this epoch. The U. S. S. R. has become the center of the world against imperialism. Tito wants to harness his people to United States imperialism. He pretends to act as a third force. Actually, he is acting for imperialism because imperialism has lost its initiative.

"Imperialism is preparing for war. He who does not see this or expose this war preparation is a traitor. We must mobilize the people because the imperialists are arming, and they are arming not for a wedding party but for war. While it is true that the U. S. S. R. and the socialist camp are fighting for peace, imperialism has not changed its character and there is no guarantee that imperialism will not unleash a war; not until socialism has triumphed the world over.

"We believe in peaceful co-existence between socialist and capitalist countries, but we look upon peaceful co-existence

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-428091-1134  
ENCLOSURE 1

~~TOP SECRET~~

*1 P. Hoxha ACS  
1 11/18/61 JCS  
JCS*

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SPEECH OF ENVER HOXHA TO THE  
NOVEMBER MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

as a continuation of the struggle.

"Comrade Khrushchev has confused and jumbled the question of transition. Let him show us a country where the people have ever won power without bloodshed. There is no such example. The Albanian Party of Labor is small, but we will not do anything that we disagree with no matter who wants us to do this. We are grateful to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and to the U. S. S. R. and to others for their aid but we do not consider the aid as alms. We are surrounded by capitalist countries and the Yugoslav revisionists. We won our freedom despite our encirclement because of the devotion of our people and the energy which we put into guarding our borders.

"Marshal Tito wants to annex the southern part of Albania as a seventh state of Yugoslavia. The Italians want to swallow us, too. We are surrounded on all sides, but you call us warmongers.

"Some comrades believe, like the revisionists, in peaceful co-existence but their concept of peaceful co-existence is surrender. Tito's concept of peaceful co-existence with us is for us to surrender. We are against peaceful co-existence with the United States. We are against peaceful co-existence with the British, who want us to give them concessions. We may some day force the enemy to accept peaceful co-existence, but we will need to be prepared and will need to fight in order to compel them to accept peaceful co-existence.

"Why are we being attacked as an anti-Marxist-Leninist Party? Why are we being attacked as being anti-Soviet? We were also attacked at Bucharest. All we did there was discuss some ideological questions and we resented the charges against the Communist Party of China (CPC). There was no prior discussion with us. We did not even receive several hours of notice before we were attacked. We objected to the Soviet leaders who had a passion for condemning the CPC. They looked upon this as their main task.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SPEECH OF ENVER HOXHA TO THE  
NOVEMBER MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

"Before the Bucharest meeting started we wanted to fix an agenda to be prepared beforehand, but we were not allowed even the courtesy of discussion. The Soviet Party wrongly accused and condemned the Communist Party of China at Bucharest. The CPSU charged mistakenly that the CPC is dogmatic and wanted to impose its views on the CPC and other Parties. We did not expect such an attack and neither did the CPC. The charges of the CPSU are dishonest and violate the Leninist norms of Party relationship. We are loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the Moscow Declaration, and even to the CPSU, but we are opposed to the hasty condemnation of the CPC. This is the crime that we have committed."

Source advised that it was learned from several representatives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCCPSU) that at the time of the 20th Congress Nikita Khrushchev said to Hoxha, "when are you going to do away with the cult of the personality in your country?" Hoxha was told by Khrushchev at that time that the way his leadership was constructed he had a power group, not a Party leadership, like in some South American dictatorships. Ever since that time there has been a terrific personal battle between Hoxha and Khrushchev. The remarks of Hoxha continue.

"This crime laid to us is boomeranging and it will hit those who made these charges and have aggravated the situation. This will remain a dirty spot in the history of the international Communist movement.

"You keep on discussing Stalin. You raised the Hungarian question again. These are important questions but why do you rush us into a discussion? We have our own views on these questions. I charge that Comrade Khrushchev made decisions and passed judgment on many questions, including these questions we are discussing now, although these were international questions. The Soviet comrades hold meetings only when things are favorable to them. This they did in Bucharest and they are doing this same thing here at this meeting. Sure, the Soviet comrades wanted to discuss some of these problems with us about the CPC. They sent us a letter in early June inviting us to a discussion, but we did not want this meeting without a third Party present.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SPEECH OF ENVER HOXHA TO THE  
NOVEMBER MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

"We charge that the CPSU is attacking Marxism-Leninism under the guise of attacking the so-called dogmatism of the Communist Party of China. The CPSU has pulled all the other Parties into this plot without their previous knowledge of the real state of affairs. After Bucharest we were faced with rude attacks and interference into our affairs began. When some of our Politburo members visited Moscow they were pressured. They were told to make a choice, either for the CPSU or the CPC. They were also propagandized. They were told that one U.S.A. "A" or "H" bomb could destroy Albania. The CPSU also tried flattery on some of our Party members and then they tried to line some of them up against the leadership of our Party. When we removed these anti-Party people we were being charged with punishing the friends of the U.S.S.R.

"The Soviet Ambassador at Tirana, capitol of Albania, has been interfering in our foreign affairs. The Soviet Union is using the friendly feelings of our people to sow discord in our ranks and in our country. The Soviets even wanted to instigate our generals in the Army against us. They also wanted to split the leadership of our Party. We can go on and cite many other examples of interference in our affairs.

"This pressure has continued. Until the drafting committee met, Marshal Rodion Malinovsky openly attacked the Albanian people just like the Soviet Ambassador did at Tirana. The U.S.S.R. is carrying on subversive activities in Albania. Marshal Malinovsky, the Minister of Defense, and Marshal Grechko told our military men that we cannot even get certain arms. They told us, we are going to treat you Albanians like we treated the Yugoslavs. Fortunately, Marshals cannot decide the important questions that we are talking about at this meeting.

"I want to read to you from a letter which the Albanian Party sent to the CPSU. In this letter we pledge our loyalty but we point out that our sole crime seems to be that we opposed Khrushchev at an international meeting, and also that we happen to be a small nation. However, I want to say that no one can destroy us or take away our rights.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

SPEECH OF ENVER HOXHA TO THE  
NOVEMBER MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"Why did Khrushchev not make these charges against us directly? Why does he do these things through third Parties? Last summer we had a terrific draught. There was no rain in our country for 120 days. Our grain supply was limited to 15 days, but only after 45 days did the Soviets give us 10,000 tons of grain instead of the 50,000 which we asked for. These 10,000 tons of grain were good only for 35 days. The U.S.S.R. did not give us bread while we were starving. Khrushchev once told us, don't worry, you only need enough grain to feed your people, which is very little. It is less than what a rat consumes in the storage house.

"Comrade Khrushchev, if the Soviet people knew this they would never forgive you comrades of the CPSU and you, Comrade Khrushchev. It is wrong to charge us with being the weak link in the international Communist movement. You, Comrade Khrushchev, treated Albania as a commodity but the time is past when you can do this. We are not a commodity. We are a Marxist-Leninist Party. No Soviet leader will ever impose upon us conditions such as you want to impose. Marshal Tito was really never completely exposed. We never agreed with you, as you claim, that Stalin made a mistake in his fight against Tito. Stalin fought Tito in time and exposed him and his clique. The Cominform endorsed what Stalin did.

"Why is it that at the present time you do not carry on regular consultations with other Parties like in Stalin's day? Not since you took over, Khrushchev, has this been done. Why was there no consultation on the 20th Congress and on your trip to Belgrade? We objected to this trip. You claim otherwise. We wanted the international movement to decide if there should be conciliation with the Yugoslav "comrades." We never accepted such a role of opportunism, but we did accept the idea of co-existence with Yugoslavia. We never gave up our idea that Yugoslavia is a capitalist state controlled by the agents of imperialism.

"At our Third Congress Comrade Mikhail Suslov wanted us to delete the question of Kautse Doto (phonetic), who deserted Albania and joined with Tito. Now Yugoslavia sends

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

**SPEECH OF ENVER HOXHA TO THE  
NOVEMBER MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA**

~~TOP SECRET~~

bands into our country worse than in 1948. Yet, I can quote to you statements from Yugoslavs in which they praise your efforts at re-conciliation since 1955. At the time of the Hungarian revolt, Marshal Tito wanted to organize a revolution in Albania. We smashed this plot on April 6, 1956. We caught the plotters, lined them up and liquidated them. Comrade Khrushchev says this is worse than even under czarism.

"Some Party members who fled Albania have appealed to Comrade Khrushchev and asked that we permit them to return to Albania with guarantees. We never dreamed that Comrade Khrushchev would give comfort to our enemies. Marshal Tito, Imre Nagy, and the Americans plotted to overthrow us. The Tito bands, the Horthyites, and the United States agents were plotting in Hungary. They did it openly and they did this while the Soviet Army was in Hungary.

"When I told Comrade Suslov that Imre Nagy was a counter-revolutionist he rejected my views, but Comrade Suslov went to visit Yugoslavia, and plotted with Marshal Tito as to how to destroy us. However, he had no meeting with us. We were not consulted on the use of troops in Hungary. We spilled our blood but we were not asked anything. We were part of the Warsaw Pact, but we were not consulted. The Soviet comrades have documents in their vaults that would expose Marshal Tito for what he is. Why do you hold these documents locked up? You are doing this to defame Stalin. You are doing this to protect the Titoists, perhaps?

"Comrade Khrushchev is the leader in all this. You are keeping quiet about revisionism. Why? This is fact. Since the Seventh Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists you have been quiet. Our articles on revisionism are not being circulated or printed if Tito is mentioned in them. Our diplomats are being isolated. Can we Albanians allow our country to become the prey of Yugoslav, Italian, Greek and United States imperialism? Why should we be afraid?

"Comrade Khrushchev, you are once again coming to the defense of our enemies when you are asking for rights for the Greek minority in our country. No matter what you say, I will

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SPEECH OF ENVER HOXHA TO THE  
NOVEMBER MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~SECRET~~

defend Stalin as the greatest leader since Lenin. He was loyal to Lenin and Leninism. He belongs to the world Communists, not just to the CPSU. Comrade Khrushchev and the 20th Congress had no business exposing Stalin in the manner in which they did. If you had not exposed Stalin in the way you did you would not have had the Polish and Hungarian revolts.

"We Albanians love the Soviet Union deeply. This is why we are so critical. We are not hypocrites. Regarding the draft before us, we say that this second draft is an improvement over the first draft. Some of the insinuations against the CPC have been removed. We will discuss these questions. We still have some reservations. We would like to insert in there some guarantees against war. We would like to delete the section on the cult of the personality. We would also like to delete the part on groupings and factions.

"What I presented before you was just an outline of a speech which I intended to deliver but it would have taken too much time. I will turn this speech in for the record and for the minutes."

This concludes the remarks of Enver Hoxha.

The source furnished the following additional information concerning Hoxha:

Various representatives of the CCCPSU stated that Hoxha left Moscow approximately two days after he made this speech. He was scheduled to return to Albania to participate in a celebration on the occasion of the anniversary of the Communists coming to power in Albania. Since he feared that he might be kidnapped or might suffer some physical harm, he returned to Albania by way of Scandinavian Airlines to Western Europe to avoid traveling in the Communist countries in Eastern Europe. Because he returned to Albania by this roundabout method he did not arrive in time for the celebration.

The source also advised that various representatives of the CPC in Moscow were spreading rumors that when Hoxha asked

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

**SPEECH OF ENVER HOXHA TO THE  
NOVEMBER MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA**

~~TOP SECRET~~

the Soviet Union for grain the Soviets insisted Hoxha pay them in gold or foreign currency. The Soviets did not want to make a barter deal with him or give him credit. The rumor continued that the Soviet Union, like the imperialists, uses its power to compel small countries like Albania to surrender. The Soviets treat them worse than they treat bourgeois governments. The Chinese said they loaned the Albanians American dollars so the Albanians could buy grain and supplies. The Chinese also said they have loaned foreign currency to the Soviet Union.

The Russians did not negotiate any trade pact with Albania. Despite all of this, on the occasion of the 16th anniversary of the Albanian Peoples' Republic, Khrushchev sent greetings and received an answer from Hoxha thanking Khrushchev for these greetings.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 1/11/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)b6  
b7cTO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)SOLO  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies, and to the New York Division, one copy, of a letterhead memorandum containing information concerning the 12/1/60 session of a meeting in Moscow, Russia, of representatives of Communist Parties in Latin America. This meeting lasted for 5 days and was held in the theater of a hotel restricted to Communist Party members who were in Moscow as guests of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU). This hotel is located at Platnikov Paraulik (phonetic) No. 12. It is near Arbatskaya Street, the main polyclinic and the Foreign Office. It is a modern six-story building which will house between 200 and 250 guests.

CIA, ONI, OSI  
CG 5824-S\* advised that he was the only Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) representative who attended all sessions of this meeting. JAMES JACKSON, JAMES ALLEN, and HELEN WINTER were each present on one or two occasions during the five-day meeting. Usually, their attendance was limited to a few minutes. The meetings were conducted in the Spanish language, however, CG 5824-S\* received assistance in the translation of the remarks. No member of the CP, USA has notes comparable to those of CG 5824-S\* on this very exclusive meeting.

For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bureau letter dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~". Because of the nature of the meeting and the information obtained, the Bureau may desire to consider changing the classification to "~~Top Secret~~". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C. in accordance with instructions contained in referenced Bureau letter.

1 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - Chicago

JEB:ntb

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

CG 134-46 Sub B

The information in the letterhead memorandum was  
furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN F. KEATING and RICHARD W.  
HANSEN and Stenographer [redacted] on 1/6/61

b6  
b7c

GALE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-428091

Washington, D.C.  
January 11, 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECEMBER 1, 1960 SESSION OF A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

On December 1, 1960, representatives of Communist Parties (CPs) in Latin America met for the second day of a five-day meeting in Moscow, Russia. The representatives of these Parties were in Moscow to attend the November, 1960 meeting of representatives of 81 CPs and Workers' Parties. The meeting was held in the theater of a hotel limited to CP representatives, who were guests of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU). This hotel is a modern six-story building located east of the Foreign Office and near the main polyclinic.

The CCCPSU did not directly participate in this meeting but did provide a translator who only occasionally took notes.

Remarks of Anibal Escalante

*RUSSIA*

Anibal Escalante, a Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Socialist Party (PSP) of Cuba, made the first speech of the meeting since the prior day had been limited to the organizing of the meeting. The following is the essence of the remarks of Escalante.

"I want to deal with the latest experience in Cuba, our Party Congress and the development of the revolution in Cuba. I thank all of you for being here and for placing Cuba as the first point on the agenda. We know that all the Latin American Parties are interested in our revolution and in our problems. Therefore, I want to deal with the character and the aims of the Cuban Revolution."

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-428091-1136

ENCLOSURE

*Photostat for JCS + ACS  
air force  
1/11/61  
jw*

*Document downgraded to Secret per 60324 UC [redacted] RS 01/01/2001*

b6  
b7c

DECEMBER 1, 1960 SESSION OF A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

"I want to say that we consider the Cuban Revolution a patriotic, popular, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution. The chief aim and task of the revolution was to carry through the agrarian reform and other reforms which were long overdue and which would affect our society. Did we carry out these aims? We say that it is a fact that we did.

"The Cuban Revolution is in a new stage of development. Fidel Castro said so in a speech on the 15th of last month. The Cuban Revolution has fundamentally eliminated feudalism. It achieved independence. It regained the riches of the country through an anti-imperialist revolution. It nationalized the sugar industry and other monopolies as well as the oil refineries, utilities, etc. This fact of nationalization is the new stage. This was a blow against imperialism.

"These acts guaranteed the independence of our economy from foreign monopoly. Fundamentally, we have also taken into the hands of the state our finances and commerce. Now we can say truly that we are an independent and free Cuba. For a long time we were under foreign domination through treaties imposed upon us by United States imperialism. Now all the enterprises formerly belonging to the United States, including the railroads, the large department stores, as well as the latifundia, have been nationalized. Though here I would say we left property alone which belonged to Canadians. That which we have nationalized was in the hands of the big exploiters. The economic and social base of imperialism was destroyed. This guarantees our revolution.

"The agrarian reforms which we carried through can also be considered an attack on capitalist exploitation. We confiscated 282 big latifundia. This relieved our people from capitalist exploitation. Private capital was turned over to the state and if we add to this, the industries which we nationalized, 400,000 people now work for the state. This gives the workers power. The imperialist monopolies, as well as the parasitic capitalists, were the main support of exploitation in our country. Now all of this property is being used for the people. The workers and the peasants now work for themselves.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~



DECEMBER 1, 1960 SESSION OF A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

"I want to deal with the economic advance of Cuba. The elimination of the imperialist latifundia gave land to the peasants, especially to the poor. They were also relieved from taxation to a large extent. The small business enterprises were helped too. This resulted in a social transformation in our country. Commerce was in the hands of foreign imperialism. Now this grip on commerce has been broken. Industry was also in the hands of the imperialists. Their grip has been broken. We have a new fiscal policy and it is in control of the state instead of foreign banks. All these actions benefited our national revolution.

"The Cuban Revolution achieved all this after Fidel Castro came into power. The first stage of the revolution solved the agrarian problem. The second stage of the revolution was that of nationalization. These stages transformed the country socially and put it on a non-capitalist road. This form of economy is now established and we need to defend these new social relations because this is the road that will eventually lead to socialism. We do not discuss this publicly but you must know this.

"The internal forces accelerated the revolution, but the first measures resulted in an attack against us by imperialism. We responded to each attack by adopting more revolutionary measures. These were necessary. Our answer to Eisenhower's abolition of the sugar quota was the hitting at 382 private enterprises, chiefly United States enterprises, which we nationalized.

"The agrarian reform was the answer to our counter-revolution and imperialism. We had to accelerate the revolution to meet the attacks of our internal and external enemies. If we did not do these things, imperialist sabotage would have led us to catastrophe. We prevented economic catastrophe and prevented the initiation of a counter-revolution.

"The people defend their revolution but we took these measures as reprisals. Tactically, this is better than if we did this in the name of socialism.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECEMBER 1, 1960 SESSION OF A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

"The bourgeoisie did not have hegemony in our revolution. At the beginning, the bourgeoisie gave into Plattism and to anti-Communism. We can say that this was the ideology of the government at the beginning of the revolution. However, the working class and the radical part of the petty bourgeoisie and the measures of agrarian reform, which mobilized the peasantry, helped to defeat this tendency. The national bourgeoisie wanted to stop the revolution and profit by it. But the Cuban Revolution was not favorable to capitalism.

"We immediately began to fight for national liberation from United States imperialism. We began with a united front of workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie. We fought the influence of the big bourgeoisie, particularly those involved in sugar. We began to fight the big bourgeoisie who support imperialism.

"Now let me say something about our united front. Ours is not a united front, we do not use this term. We really say the revolution was a coincidence of history. It included the national bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie tried to sabotage the revolution. They acted not only against us, but against Fidel Castro too. During the first weeks after victory, we saw the need to exclude the big bourgeoisie from the government. The workers, peasants and intellectuals began to press against the bourgeoisie. For a time, there was a stalemate in our revolution. We were, should we say, of equal strength. Then we raised a slogan, add revolution to revolution; let us make our revolution more revolutionary.

"We asked Fidel Castro to assume the leading role in the government. He hesitated but did take some posts in the government and began to exclude reactionary elements. In October, 1958, the bourgeoisie in some sections of the army assaulted our revolutionary aims. This made it difficult for President Manuel Urrutia since he came from Camaguey Province, which was a province of big estates. We began to fight him although he was popular. We organized the masses and delivered some blows against the national

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~ ~~TOP SECRET~~

DECEMBER 1, 1960 SESSION OF A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

bourgeoisie. The left wing in the March 4th Directorate also took over and ousted their reactionaries. The peasants, workers and the radical bourgeoisie formed an alliance. However, the chief base was the working class and the peasantry with the workers playing the leading role.

"We were not trying to go too fast. We were very careful to avoid leftism but we do not speak of this. We always speak of a broad front. The national bourgeoisie, at least some sections of it, is still a part of this broad front. The petty bourgeoisie is also a part of this broad front. Some are afraid of the advance of the revolution because they are Plattist minded. Some, of course, have already deserted to the counter-revolution. Some stayed. Some have been indicted for treason, including the former head of the trade unions, David Salvador.

"The proletariat, the peasants, the poor peasants, and the petty bourgeoisie, in the main, were for the revolution. The revolutionary elements did not have enough organizational experience. They were not only making mistakes which caused some slowing down in industry, but the imperialists can be said to be responsible for a certain amount of sabotage. We all make mistakes but we took measures in time to correct some of these mistakes. Some mistakes were corrected particularly through positive economic measures.

"Now we are going to push for new measures. Fidel has said that we must stop this business of intervention. We must try instead to convince. If something is wrong in a given plant we must try to convince the management and the workers to straighten things out. Only the most important enterprises will be nationalized.

"In fact, we are going to re-examine some of our past interventions. We will give back some of the plants to the small business people and to some of them we will even pay compensation. We are also going to allow for an appeal so that injustices against small owners can be corrected. The big bourgeoisie will not appeal but some small ones will claim damages. They will receive sympathetic hearings. They will then be organized to contribute to the general economic plan of the nation. Fidel is making an appeal

~~TOP SECRET~~ ~~TOP SECRET~~

DECEMBER 1, 1960 SESSION OF A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

to these classes and elements. He is promising them that if they cooperate they will gain, but if they are against the revolution they will suffer the consequences.

"We also carried through some urban reforms. Houses were given to the people on the basis of permanent ownership. I am talking of small houses, small shops, etc. We also offered some compensation for the small owners of property exclusive of homes. They will be guaranteed rent income for 25 years. Those who own many houses will also be compensated. They will not get ten thousand pesos in rent but, let us say, we will give them 600 pesos in rent and we will see to it that they will not starve. Everyone will get a home or an apartment and all future construction by the government will be considered social property.

"The revolution depends upon the consolidation of the unity of the workers, the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie.

"The imperialists are still against our revolution but the international situation and the correlation of forces will help to decide the solidarity of our revolution. The socialist countries will help us with economic aid and we also accept military aid. Therefore, we say that our chief task is to defend and to continue the revolution.

"If we look at our revolution internationally, we need to consider Latin America. Here we can say that there is more hostility to our revolution on the part of the Latin American bourgeoisie and the compradore section of the bourgeoisie in Latin America lines up with imperialism. But in Latin America as such, we are finding more solidarity with our revolution by patriots, students, workers, artists, Indians, progressives of all sorts, and of course, Communists. The people in Latin America now see that the establishment of our revolutionary government in Cuba has solved many problems for the poor. We therefore say that the correlation of forces internally in Cuba and the relation of forces internationally is more favorable to our revolution.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECEMBER 1, 1960 SESSION OF A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

"We need to consolidate the Cuban Revolution. We must, therefore, use the contradictions of the various forces in Latin America; those who, for one reason or another, have aggravations against United States imperialism. Of course, there is some sabotage against our revolution, actual sabotage. Then there is the activity of the clericals, the church. The church will continue. Maybe it will be for good or evil. The important thing, however, is to coordinate our activity and the united front and this will help the revolution.

"Here is a problem that I am sure all of you want answered. What is our political perspective? Our perspective is one united party in Cuba. This is important to the Cuban Revolution and is a peculiarity of the Cuban Revolution."

The source advised that at this point, Escalante is explaining the role of the CP in Cuba. "This has been a problem for the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA). It is sometimes stated that the Cubans went through a revolution without Communist support. So the question is asked why there is a need for a CP in the United States in order to have a revolution. A book entitled the 'Cuban Revolution' has been published. This book completely minimizes the role of the CP in the Cuban Revolution. Yet, according to Marxism-Leninism, there can be no revolution without a Marxist-Leninist CP."

The CP, USA has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The remarks of Escalante continue.

"This question is of interest to other countries too. We have always covered this question. We do not talk about this. This is why some people, including Communists, ask, where is the Party? Where is the face of the Party? We do not put our face forward. Sometimes we do but we do not get our face smashed in. I want to ask the comrades of Latin America not to emulate us, but remember we are only 90 miles from the coast of the United States. If we would have said where and how many we were during the guerrilla days, United States imperialism would have destroyed us. There is no miracle in Cuba nor do we know of the Immaculate Conception. Some Parties doubt us. They want to know how many

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECEMBER 1, 1960 SESSION OF A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

ministers in the government are Communists. They ask, where is the hegemony of the proletariat? Where is the dictatorship of the proletariat? We do not have any. So we say. Therefore, some people are skeptical. But we use an expression in Cuba - beware of the dog."

The source advised that Escalante used the reference to the Immaculate Conception to very carefully indicate that birth was not given to the revolution in Cuba without the aid and assistance of the PSP. The other language used by Escalante at this point is a description of the role being played in Cuba by the PSP. The remarks of Escalante continue.

"In any case, actually there is a line in the revolution. This is the thesis of Fidel. We have battles. Some battalions are in the front line. They engage in a straight attack. They go right into the face of the enemy. Some are on the flank; let us say the PSP of Cuba. We keep our heads low. We do not have to raise our heads and get shot. But we can use the flank quite effectively. Some other countries may try to do the same. It may happen that way or it may not.

"Will we have only one party in Cuba? I do not know. If we can have one ideology then it will be so. The French author Jean Paul Sartre says that the Cuban Revolution is depending on Fidel Castro only. He is mistaken. He did not see the Havana Declaration in which we do away with exploitation of man by man. Is this a coincidence? Perhaps. But the Havana Declaration has the same approach as that of the Party. History will prove it. Some of our experiences will be used.

"The Cuban Revolution was a big blow against imperialism. No matter the size of the country, Cuban events have influenced all of Latin America against United States imperialism. Remember that around the corner from us is United States imperialism. We do not need to emphasize this point but we want to say that the revolution was a big blow against the Organization of American States (OAS).

"Today Cuba is important for peace and for the freedom of the peoples of Latin America. The importance of the Cuban Revolution is more than can be measured by its six and one-half million

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECEMBER 1, 1960 SESSION OF A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

population. Fidel was at the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations. He spoke right into the face of the United States imperialists. He exposed the United States imperialist maneuvers. The pot is boiling in Latin America. Of course, if there was a revolution in a second country in Latin America it would help us and it would be better.

"We are in a new era. These times are different than those in the 1950's in Guatemala. This is because we are living in a new epoch and the correlation of forces today is more favorable for us. Today the revolution speaks Spanish with an American accent. It is not a revolution of Czechoslovakia, it is not a revolution of Viet Nam or some other country.

"Cuba is an attraction, especially for the peasants of Latin America, because we gave land to the peasants. This is different than if it happened in China or some other country far away from Latin America. The same holds true for nationalization. The revolution is developing in Latin America, not only in Europe. We have destroyed the myth that a revolution can only take place in a country that borders on the Soviet Union or with the help of Soviet soldiers. We studied and saw the development of revolution in different parts of the globe. This proves that revolution can develop anywhere if the conditions are there for it and if the class relationships make it possible.

"We need to study the tactical elements of our revolution. We need to study the relation of classes. We need to study the extraordinary role of the petty bourgeoisie and even the big bourgeoisie. We also need to study the camouflage aspect of revolution. We keep many people in the mass organizations and in other Parties. Let them remain there.

"When a naval Putsch was planned recently, members of the CP were right in on the plot. Of course they were not 'Communists' and of course, we helped smash this Putsch. We are everywhere. It is not good to take all Communist members into one organization. Some of these things I am saying are actually not recent conclusions. I want to tell you that in 1953, when the last legal issue of 'Hoy' was printed, it contained a big article by Blas Roca in which he

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECEMBER 1, 1960 SESSION OF A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

talked of this "coincidence". At that time we supported St. Martin. We used the weapon of the general strike. We used guerrilla warfare. We were in many streams. But these things were possible because of the conditions that prevailed in Cuba.

"Now I will speak about aggression and solidarity. The United States has intentions against our country and the revolution. It is already practicing economic aggression. It is preparing for military aggression.

"There is talk that John F. Kennedy wants to "buy" the Cuban Revolution. Also that he is going to compete with the USSR. We doubt that he can do it now because we have nationalized American enterprises. The blockade will not work. It cannot be complete. Even Canada has promised to trade with us and so have other countries. Even some American businessmen will carry on trade with us even if they have to do it through Canada. We are receiving extraordinary help from the socialist states. The people in our country know this and all the peoples in Latin America know this or are beginning to know this. Fifteen days after the United States stopped our refineries from delivering oil, we received oil from the USSR.

"There is a plan to attack us. We know of these plans. We knew of them in the past. We are up to date on these plots. Some of the planners have been paralyzed by the fear that war would involve other countries and for a time they were paralyzed when the Soviet Union threatened them with rockets. But this does not stop them from organizing concrete plans to attack or invade us. Four million dollars was given to Allen Dulles to organize mercenaries who are being trained at Florida and Guatemala.

"We have counter plans. Today we have an army of 30,000. We also have a militia of no less than 300,000 and there is unity between the army and the militia. We are also graduating new officers and many of them are Communists. Every day we have new weapons. We are acquiring more every day and not only small arms. We have, should we say, a militia with big cannons. We can lick

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECEMBER 1, 1960 SESSION OF A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

the mercenaries. It is not easy to mobilize tens of thousands of mercenaries. The Yankee imperialists are trying to find a Latin American CHIANG Kai-shek. If they did they would establish a government on an island near us. Even the prisoners on these islands, those who we put into prison, would not participate. They know that we would wipe them out in the first hours.

"I want to emphasize one thing which we consider the main thing and that is the solidarity of Latin America. It will be difficult for United States imperialism to convince the people of Latin America that they are justified in invading us. For such a task, they would need big sections of the population of Latin America. But United States imperialism lacks this sympathy in Latin America at the present time. But here I would say that the most important factors are the fraternal Parties. Their solidarity with Cuba is very important. Solidarity with Cuba is not for Cuba alone but for the revolution in Latin America and other countries.

"Of course each Party will decide its revolution, but Cuba is an important link in the chain of Latin America. What kind of solidarity there will be depends on each Party. What I would suggest first of all is the carrying on of mass propaganda against the lies of the imperialists. Secondly, that pressure should be applied on the foreign policy of the various Latin American governments. The slogan must be: "Do not line up against Cuba". Of course we need to study what else can be done, what concrete measures of solidarity can be applied.

"Argentina and Brazil are developing their economies. They have deficits and difficulties. Cuba is developing new factories and commerce. It would be well to emphasize that these present opportunities and that these countries can trade with Cuba. Of course these would be measures that would offset the effects of a blockade against Cuba.

"Then there can be other measures for solidarity such as: mass mobilization, endorsement of the Havana Declaration, actions by trade unions, messages, visits of delegations to Cuba, etc. Fidel has a good feeling about the other Latin American CPs.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECEMBER 1, 1960 SESSION OF A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

"Congresses of solidarity can be organized outside Cuba although Cubans can participate. Volunteers can be symbolic only, but a battalion, even if only one, would be important. Take up the problem of Cuba everywhere. Organize national discussions on Cuba. We will help the small Parties, especially in the Caribbean. We have schools. Send your people to our schools. By next year we can prepare a thousand cadre members. If there are non-Party people who want to go to school in Cuba, the July 26th Movement is running all kinds of schools. They can go to these schools. All other measures should be considered. You can work them out yourself. In any case, there is a duty for solidarity with Cuba."

Remarks of Jose Gonzales

RUSSIA

After representatives of the CP of Uruguay and the CP of Honduras spoke, Jose Gonzales, a Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP of Chile, took the floor to speak. The following is the essence of his remarks.

"In our country we have organized committees for solidarity with Cuba. The mass organizations send letters to the Cuban Ambassador and the Ambassador attends their meetings. Right now we are organizing volunteers and brigades for Cuba. Included in these are doctors, technicians and engineers. We have also sent cultural delegations to Cuba. They have come back and reported on the situation in Cuba. We would say, at least it is the policy of our Party, that each mass organization must place the question of Cuba on its agenda as a most important question.

"Solidarity with Cuba is widespread in Chile. When the invasion of Cuba seemed imminent a few weeks ago, a parliamentary delegation was mobilized and all in the popular united front joined. There is a deep feeling for Cuba. If Cuba is invaded, the Chilean workers will respond like one man. The main force in Chile for the solidarity of Cuba is the working class. When Eisenhower visited Chile, the trade unions resented his visit because of the treatment of Cuba by the United States. Everywhere Eisenhower went he saw photographs, posters of Castro. Windows of homes, stores, walls, etc., had such posters.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECEMBER 1, 1960 SESSION OF A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"The economic situation in Chile is bad. President Alessandri talks of dissolving the Parliament. I want to inform this meeting that at the last Congress of the CP of Chile, one of the main points on the order of business was the mobilization of the people for solidarity with Cuba and for strengthening this solidarity. The help that Cuba gave us during the earthquake has resulted in an increased sympathy for Cuba. When Castro appeals for help, the Chileans will respond."

Remarks of Gilberto Vieira

*RUSSIA*

Gilberto Vieira, Political Secretary of the CP of Colombia, was the next speaker. The essence of his remarks follows.

"We are carrying out the tasks that Escalante has raised here. We will mobilize volunteers, technicians, etc., etc., for Cuba. The imperialists are trying to stop this but there are groups of engineers from Colombia who have decided to go to Cuba just the same. As in other Latin American countries, solidarity with Cuba is of great importance. Last month hundreds of delegates from various organizations gathered in a conference to support the Cuban Revolution and the Havana Declaration. The most important organizations in Colombia were represented. The Cuban representative was present too. This congress of solidarity was a culminating point in the support of the Cuban Revolution.

"At the present time, there are many propositions in Parliament for the support of Cuba. The masses are being mobilized and resolutions are being adopted. Provincial governments have adopted resolutions in support of Cuba. The support of the Cuban Revolution is the main task and it has served us as a means to expose the reactionaries. The Cuban Revolution has helped us more than we have helped the Cuban Revolution. Even the Catholic trade unions have come out for the support of Cuba. There is talk of expelling these trade unions from the Trades Council. The last plenum of our Central Committee put the support of Cuba first. It was placed in the light of struggle for peace and against aggression.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECEMBER 1, 1960 SESSION OF A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"Some leftist elements tried to use the Cuban Revolution against our Party. They say that if there is no independent role for the Party in Cuba, why do we need an independent role in Colombia?

"Remember that for seven years, a guerrilla war has been raging in Colombia. We have gone through a decade of terror. In 1949 the CP raised the slogan of self-defense to protect itself. We favored and urged mass violence against the reactionaries. But the resistance movement has not always been under our influence. The liberals have used this movement too and many people have turned over their arms to the liberal clique. It was only later that the Party increased its influence and we helped to overthrow the military regime in Colombia. But this was not due to the military work of the guerrillas.

"We have won some legality for the Party. There was a reconstitution of the trade union movement and this helped to mobilize the masses for the overthrow of the military dictatorship. Then the guerrilla movement went underground. The Party groups did not turn in their arms. At the present time, in some places, the reactionaries are trying to physically destroy the guerrilla leaders and in some cases they are trying to buy them off. The armed struggle in Colombia is still continuing and it is in support of the movement. This armed struggle is not our main task. We do not talk about the armed fight.

"We are trying to emphasize the importance of increasing our political influence. A political crisis is developing in Colombia. The bi-party system, which is in operation, is crumbling and will soon crash. We then see an inevitable clash, an armed one. But we do not intend to push it. The armed uprising will come when the conditions are right.

"The youth movement in Colombia is under the influence of the Cuban Revolution. But the youth believes only in armed uprising. We have expelled some of these youth from our Party. But they are gathering themselves under the banner of the Cuban Revolution. The Cuban Ambassador in Colombia is not very experienced and he helped these adventurers. The Cuban Ambassador has

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECEMBER 1, 1960 SESSION OF A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

never invited important people to visit him but he did invite these adventurers and these adventurers are United States intelligence agents. In Cuba, they do not know about the character of this movement of the youth and have given it support. When some Latin American friends visit Cuba, they are sometimes advised to use arms. I want to say, comrades, that this policy is no good and that it is much better to talk about general problems of the revolution and not about the use of arms in another country."

The source advised that during this meeting, differences emerged between the PSP of Cuba and some of the other CPs in Latin America. The other Latin American CPs did not object to solidarity with Cuba but did object to the idea of applying the Cuban way to socialism to other countries in Latin America. Sometimes the discussion on this point became very sharp.

Remarks of the General Secretary  
of the Guatemala Party of Labor

The General Secretary of the Guatemala Party of Labor was the last speaker in this session. His identify is not known. He speaks some English and can be described as follows: age 38, height 5'7", weight 135, build thin, hair light brown. He wears a small mustache. The following is the essence of his remarks.

"There is a traditional friendship between the Cuban and Guatemalan CPs. There is a traditional friendship between Cuba and Guatemala which goes back to 1875. The Guatemalan national hymn was written by a Cuban.

"In Guatemala, we have a reactionary dictatorship which is in the service of United States imperialism. United States bayonets keep this dictatorship propped up.

"The Party is illegal and this creates many difficulties for us.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECEMBER 1, 1960 SESSION OF A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"The national bourgeoisie of Cuba is scared although some of them are neutral. As the Cuban Revolution deepens, the national bourgeoisie become more scared.

"The movement for Cuban solidarity in Guatemala is based upon the workers and the petty bourgeoisie. When relations between Guatemala and Cuba were broken, all those who were active in solidarity with Cuba were persecuted. The government used the excuse of a threatened invasion of Guatemala by Cuba and declared a state of siege. At the present time there are no public committees nor is there a central solidarity organization for Cuba. But the CP works in other Parties and other organizations. In our underground paper "Verdat", which means truth, we show that the solidarity movement is a fight against imperialism. We contrast Cuba with our situation in 1955 when our revolution was defeated. Our cadre has given a lot of study to the Cuban Party thesis which was developed in 1959 and we are well acquainted with the Cuban situation and our task. Our work of solidarity with Cuba is developing. But we still have to take some concrete measures on solidarity. We have assigned a special cadre to organize this movement through various organizations. This cadre is led by the Secretariat of the Party. We are carrying on some work. We hold flash demonstrations from time to time. We are painting slogans everywhere such as, Yankee no, Cuba si. We do these things at night of course. We have even succeeded in painting the slogans on official government buildings as well as the American Embassy.

"On July 26th, we had a flash meeting at the monument of Jose Marti. During the meeting of the OAS, many messages from various organizations were sent to the government. It was during this period that the government established a state of siege. Despite the state of siege many leaflets were distributed.

"Our CP and the Cuban Party have signed a joint communique. We have sent comrades to Havana to discuss problems and to discuss this communique before we published it. At our third congress, which was held underground, we sent messages of solidarity to Cuba. On the first of May of this year, under the banner of the

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECEMBER 1, 1960 SESSION OF A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

Cuban Revolution, we covered the towns and the countryside with placards and leaflets despite the threats of Ydigoras (President Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes).

"Some organizations are asking for the re-establishment of relations with Cuba. During the May 1st demonstrations, the United States Embassy was stoned. The Guatemalan government is unconditionally a vassal of United States imperialism and the Guatemalan territory is being used as a base for the United States to invade Cuba. This gives us a very important role to play. We have been exposing this mobilization. We found out where all these airstrips and airports were and where the bases were being constructed. We learned about the number of ships and where these ships are located. We even exposed the military instructors who have been sent out.

"The government shouts treason at us when we expose its maneuvers with United States imperialism, but this did not hurt us nor does it hurt us. We must be against bases and domination of United States imperialism. There are many who are not in favor of Cuba, but they are against the military bases of Yankee imperialism and they are against the loss of Guatemalan independence. Even some military men are against helping the United States and within the Army there is a secret organization against the government. In Parliament, too, there are some number of deputies who are exposing the actions of the government against Cuba.

"All of these things that are taking place are not spontaneous. We keep the Cuban comrades informed. We give intelligence on the movement of troops, training, etc. We also organize sabotage and this especially if Cuba is invaded. We have special plans and a special commission on this. We also have a plan for military action in case of the invasion of Cuba. The masses are mobilized also. But of course, we can do more. The students

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECEMBER 1, 1960 SESSION OF A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

are in the lead of the solidarity movement for Cuba. The trade unions are becoming more active in the solidarity movement for Cuba."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~



F B I

Date: 1/10/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGaro	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies, and to New York Division, one copy, of a letterhead memorandum containing information concerning the opening day of sessions of the 11/60 meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia. Including the representatives, translators, advisors and technicians, approximately 300 people attended this meeting. The proceedings of the meeting were not made public. While 6 representatives of the Communist Party, USA were present, it is the opinion of CG 5824-S\* that no one else from the Communist Party, USA delegation has notes which are as complete as those of CG 5824-S\*. For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C. in accordance with instructions in re Bulet.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 1/4/61.

GALE

- 1 - 1243 Just  
1 - 1243 Just  
3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - Chicago

REC-95

JEK:ntb  
(5)

ENCLOSURE

Approved: 9-192 C4  
63 FEB 2 1961 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 06-29-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-428091

Washington, D.C.  
January 10, 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF THE  
NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA.

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information:

On November 10, 1960, representatives from 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties assembled in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia, for a meeting that was to last through December 1, 1960. Prior to this meeting, an Editorial Commission had met from September 30, 1960, through October 21, 1960, and had edited and modified a draft of a declaration originally presented to the Editorial Commission by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CCPSU). This draft declaration was the main point of business for this meeting of representatives from 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties.

Including representatives of the various Parties, translators, advisors, and technicians, approximately 300 people attended this meeting. For the most part, the delegations were seated so as to permit those speaking the same language to be in the same general area.

Welcoming Address by  
Nikita Khrushchev

After the delegates were seated, Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the CCPSU, stepped to the rostrum to deliver a welcoming address. The following is the essence of this address:

"I am glad to welcome you for our 43rd anniversary celebration. You will recall that at Bucharest we made a decision to hold the kind of meeting that we are holding today. This is very good, this is a good gathering. There have been a number of meetings of Communist Parties (CPs) since 1957, but these could be characterized as regional meetings. For example, there was the meeting of

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-428091-1136

ENCLOSURE

Photostat ACS  
JCS  
11/16/61  
JWS

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

seventeen European Parties in January, 1960. Then, of course, we had the Bucharest meeting in June. The Bucharest meeting is responsible for the great gathering of today.

"World events have borne out the predication and analyses of the programmatic Moscow Declaration of 1957. The CP ranks keep on growing. Last year we had 75 Parties with a membership of 33 million. Today we have 87 CPs with 36 million members. This means that with every passing year, more and more people are rallying under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. The CPs have routed the deviationists and the factionalists and have ousted them. The forces of socialism are gaining over imperialism.

"We are gathering here because we need to exchange views on a wide range of questions. Through our joint discussion and effort we must define the new stage of world developments. Of course, some work on this has already been done. You have a draft made ready by a preliminary committee and you have undoubtedly studied it. Today at this meeting we have 81 Parties present. I hope that we will strengthen our unity and our labors will be fruitful.

"Well, how do we go about to select a chairman?"

Establishing the Procedure  
for the Meeting

*Czech Russia*

At the conclusion of the welcoming address by Khrushchev, Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the CP of Czechoslovakia, asked for the floor and made the following suggestion:

"I propose that we elect chairmen on the basis of rotation. That is, that we use the Russian alphabet and alternate between the beginning and the end of the alphabet. This may make it possible for every Party to share a session of the meeting."

Khrushchev asked if there were any objections to this proposal. When there were none, it was decided that the CP of Austria was entitled to rule the chair for the opening of the business of the meeting. The chairman of each session remained

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

in his regular seat. His microphone was connected with the loud speaker. A large clock with a bell was placed before him. From time to time written regulations and memoranda were handed to him by messengers.

Johann Koplenig, President of the CP of Austria, and a former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, was the first chairman.

AUSTRIA  
RUSSIA

Koplenig said, "this is the proposed organization of our meeting. A session will be held from 10:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. daily. Dinner will be from 2:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. The second session will be held from 4:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. each day. Every two hours there will be a ten minute recess. Those who want the floor will make a request. The request has to come from the delegation. Speakers will be called in the order their requests are received from the floor. The conference will select the Secretariat to organize this meeting and to complete the minutes."

Koplenig then read the names of 30 Parties and asked the delegations of these Parties to send in the names of delegates recommended for the Secretariat. The 30 Parties included the 26 which had been represented on the Editorial Commission. The delegation of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) nominated Mickey Lima and Helen Winter, both of whom are members of the National Committee of the CP, USA, for the Secretariat. This Secretariat turned out to be a mere formality and only one meeting of the Secretariat was held.

The CP, USA has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Leo Figere, a Secretary of the French CP, suggested that the sub-committee preparing the draft of a peace appeal be enlarged and that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) be responsible for calling meetings of this sub-committee. This proposal was adopted. L. F. Ilyichev, member of the CCCPSU, was the CPSU representative on this sub-committee. James Allen, member of the National Committee of the CP, USA, was the CP, USA representative on this sub-committee.

RUSSIA FRANCE

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

Koplenig announced that with the completion of the organizational problems, the meeting would go on to the next point of business. He called upon Mikhail Suslov, member of the Presidium of the CCCPSU and Chairman of the Editorial Commission, to make the report for the Editorial Commission.

Report of Mikhail Suslov  
for the Editorial Commission

CP OF CHINA  
RUSSIA

CHINA

The following is the essence of the report of  
Mikhail Suslov for the Editorial Commission:

"These multi-lateral meetings are a good tradition. The meeting today is a veritable world forum of Communists. This meeting was called together by the decision of the Bucharest meeting. The meeting at Bucharest also decided to set up an editorial commission or drafting committee. This drafting committee, as you know, has been working here for some time. The drafting committee had on it representatives from the CPSU, CP of China (CPC), Polish United Workers' Party, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Rumanian Workers' Party, Albanian Party of Labor, Workers' Party of Viet Nam and other socialist countries. There were 26 Parties represented on this drafting committee. Twelve of these Parties are in the socialist countries and 14 are in the capitalist countries. All the principal regions of the world were present. There were delegates from the CP of Germany, CP of Great Britain, CP, USA, French CP, CP of Italy, CP of Japan, CP of Brazil, People's Socialist Party of Cuba, CP of Argentina, CP of Syria, CP of India, CP of Finland, CP of Australia, and CP of Indonesia.

"This Editorial Commission discussed all problems of principle and this collective meeting of world Parties has brought results. The CPSU originally presented a draft which was endorsed by the representatives of the 26 Parties as a basis. The main purpose was to bring in a document that would express the collective will of CPs and would unite all the Parties. This document contained an analysis of the present epoch, the contemporary world situation and outlined the common strategy and tactics for all Marxist-Leninist Parties.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"A month's work by this committee reduced the questions on which there were differences. We believe that as the result of the creative work of this Editorial Commission there were additions made to the CPSU draft. It was the consensus of opinion of the Editorial Commission that the CPSU should make the report to this larger gathering.

"In composing the original draft, and in the meeting of the Editorial Commission, the CPSU was guided by Marxism-Leninism. We also based ourselves upon the Moscow Declaration of 1957. The last three years have borne out the analysis of the Moscow Declaration and the Peace Manifesto. It would not be enough to merely endorse these older documents. We meet because we need to analyze and give answers to new questions posed by life. Also to work out strategy and tactics for the world Communist movement in the present period.

"The following items deal with the pace of development of world events in the present epoch:

1. Capitalism is growing more decrepit and feeble.
2. Many countries in the socialist camp are building socialism at a fast pace. Some are still laying the foundations of socialism.
3. The draft generalized the laws of the construction of socialism, the problem of proportional development, the international division of labor, specialization in construction, mutual assistance, removing of differences, the rate of development and laying the basis for simultaneously building socialism or reaching socialism and Communism.
4. The draft sets forth a system of relations between the socialist countries and explains how to strengthen their unity and loyalty to Marxism-Leninism.
5. The draft shows the need for the solidarity of the socialist camp.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

6. The draft also dealt with the problem of combining patriotism with socialism and how to fight nationalism and chauvinism.

7. The draft deals with the question of war and peace. It shows that there is a danger of world war and points to United States imperialism as the main enemy.

8. The draft further explains that the nature of imperialism has not changed.

"We also explain in the draft that if imperialism had its way there would be war, but the imperialists can no longer do as they please. The draft points out that war is not inevitable. This thesis is taken from the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU.

"Present-day modern weapons are very destructive. It may be too late to stop a war when the bombs start dropping, therefore, we must try to prevent war. To do this, it is necessary to mobilize the masses and to fight for peaceful co-existence. The revisionists have attacked the theory of peaceful co-existence. They think it is an abandonment of the class struggle. We do not think so.

"A new historical period has begun. Asia, Africa, and Latin America are fighting against colonialism and for independence. These struggles have a strong influence on international politics. In most of these countries, a national patriotic front, led by the workers and peasants, is developing. Some of these countries are working out their transition to socialism via national democracy."

The source advised that the term, national democracy, is a new Communist term applied to the more backward countries striving for independence and following a non-capitalist path of development. The report of Suslov continues.

"The new relation of forces in this world will make it possible for many CPs to accomplish their tasks. The main blows must be directed against the capitalist monopolies. These monopolies are against the people. It is therefore possible to

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

**OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA**

~~TOP SECRET~~

establish anti-monopoly fronts in the interests of the nation. On the basis of these anti-monopoly fronts the Communists can strengthen their bonds with the masses. To accomplish this task it is important to do away with the split in the working class movement. We therefore have to appeal to the social democrats on a number of issues that could lead to unity and show that victory for the working class is possible only through unity.

"The draft deals with the ways to the socialist revolution. It is a slander to say that the Communists want war to accomplish the socialist revolution. This is just not so. This is not Marxism-Leninism.

"The theses in the draft show that the CPs are against the export of revolution, but are also against the export of counter-revolution. The accomplishment of the revolution by peaceful means would meet the interests of the people and the nation, but it depends on the given situation. Circumstances might arise which would make it necessary to fight. Each CP will decide for itself what method to use.

"The draft also deals with standards of Party life. It deals with the questions of unity, democracy and collective leadership. The document speaks out boldly against the cult of personality which would shackle the initiative of Parties. The draft emphasizes criticism and self-criticism of Parties and their leadership.

"Marxism-Leninism fights against all opportunism, revisionism and dogmatism. This, our draft points out. It also states that the CPs have consolidated their ranks. The document condemns Yugoslav revisionism and its subversive work. The CPs are united by Marxism-Leninism. Unity is the supreme international duty for the consolidating of the CPs and for creating the conditions for proletarian internationalism.

"The drafting committee of the 26 Parties reached agreement on the following points of the draft: the introduction, sections one, two, and four, and one part of section three. However, in

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

**OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA**

~~TOP SECRET~~

section five, there are a few points on which agreement has not been reached. For example, there is no consensus of opinion on routing out groups and factions, although the People's Socialist Party of Cuba and the CP of Brazil had a good formulation on this thesis. We favored this part of the draft and so did most all other Parties, but there were a few Parties against it.

"The principle of unity is an old principle in the CPs. In 1907, Lenin wrote that the decisions of all the Parties are not obligatory but all Parties are morally bound together. The drafting committee was opposed on this question by the CPC. The comrades of the CPC said that this question of factionalism and groupings should not be raised. The Albanian Party of Labor supported the CPC. The Korean Party of Labor, Workers' Party of Viet Nam, CP of Japan, and CP of Australia said that they would agree with the essence, but wanted different wording.

"I want to inform this conference that the section of this draft dealing with the CPSU and the importance of the 20th and 21st Congresses was introduced by our Czechoslovakian comrades and by the Polish comrades who wanted to emphasize these Congresses as examples of international solidarity. You should know that the CPC was opposed to this. The Indonesian representative also opposed this but all other delegations favored the proposal of the Czechoslovakian and Polish comrades.

"On the consequences of the cult of the individual, all delegations favored that we include this in the draft except that of China which was joined by those from Albania and Indonesia.

"On the formulation of a world without war and without arms and the elimination of war, this was favored by the overwhelming majority of the Parties. Only the CPC, Albanian Party of Labor and CP of Indonesia are against the present formulation in the draft.

"These questions which I have listed on which there was no unanimity we left open. We hope that we can achieve unity even on these things I mentioned and that the conference will in the end adopt this draft unanimously.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

"The CP of the United States and the CP of Great Britain moved at the meeting of the Editorial Commission that this conference also adopt an appeal for peace. I want to inform you that a sub-committee was formed and has been working on a draft peace appeal."

Motions of Suslov's Report

A motion was made to adopt the report of Suslov as presented. This motion was accepted with no one challenging it. Then there was a brief flurry when the delegation of the CPC asked for the official minutes on the basis that there was a discrepancy between the report of Suslov and that of Boris Ponomarev, member of the CCCPSU and Chairman of the Secretariat of the Editorial Commission, on the issue of war and peace.

There was no decision on the request of the CPC delegation. The meeting proceeded with Satomi Hakamada, member of the Presidium of the CP of Japan, as the next chairman. There was a proposal to open the discussion.

Speech by Nikita Khrushchev

The discussion was opened with a speech by Nikita Khrushchev. The following is the essence of this speech.

"Speaking for the CPSU, I want to express satisfaction that the leaders of all CPs are gathered here. Communism is marching forward with seven league boots. There is a new relation of forces and countries in this world. The colonial regimes are crumbling. This makes it more necessary to keep an eye on the situation, on the changes and on the pressing problems. Eliminating our differences will help us rally millions for the triumph of socialism.

"The draft document is a sound Marxist document. The draft defines all basic tasks correctly for the working class movement as a whole and for the Communist movement as a whole. This new document will play a very important role in promoting Communist theory and ideology.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

"The analysis of the Sixties will show that we have reason to be satisfied. In the past we said that history was working for socialism. Today we can say socialism is working for history and bringing about great social transformations. Lenin said that since the Communist Manifesto, history has been divided into three periods as follows: 1848 - 1871; 1871 - 1917; 1917 and beyond.

"This is the epoch that is shaking the world. This new epoch is distinguished from all others by the triumph of the October revolution. A number of factors makes the march of socialism irresistible. Many hundreds of millions of people now live under a system of socialism. Socialism or Marxism is no longer a mere theory. It is a reality. People can see it. No one can stop it. Yesterday, hundreds of millions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America could not see these developments but today they are seeing Marxism-Leninism.

"We never regarded the victory of socialism in one country as an end in itself. Lenin said that the socialist revolution will not be only a struggle of the proletariat in one country. It will be a struggle of the colonial peoples and all the oppressed against imperialism. The proletariat does not struggle by itself. Other sections of society join with it. The struggle for national independence is a part of the proletarian struggle against imperialism.

"Revisionism is not Marxism. The revisionists believe in class peace and class harmony. It is really the ideology of the bourgeoisie. The revisionist theories are similar to those of right wing social democracy. They have worked out definitions of a people's capitalism and a welfare state. These theories are contrary to life and will never be valid.

"When socialism became a powerful world system, colonial disintegration and capitalist crises intensified. I agree with the description of the present epoch as it is contained in the draft statement. I would describe this as creative Marxism-Leninism. This thesis opens up the perspective of achieving socialism on a world scale.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"The victory of the October Revolution established the dictatorship of the proletariat in a national boundary, Russia. Imperialism, at that time, determined world events. But even then world-wide imperialism could not stop the building of socialism in the USSR.

"The October Revolution broke only one link in the world chain of capitalism, but at the present time the chain of imperialism no longer really exists. The dictatorship of the proletariat now exists in a number of countries and can be talked of as existing on a world wide scale.

"I repeat that the general crisis of capitalism has intensified and the balance of forces is in favor of socialism. We cannot ignore imperialism. It is still strong and has a powerful armed establishment. It would not be accurate to say that imperialism is no longer a force. The United States of America even in peace time has enormous armed forces, atomic and hydrogen bombs and other weapons. But imperialism is decaying. The CPSU has no illusions in regard to imperialism. Imperialism will continue its intrigues and make attempts at aggression. However, the balance of forces in the world today stopped some local wars and this prevented a world war.

"Even some sections of the capitalist class see in a world war the possibility of the destruction of their entire system. A proletarian revolution does not result merely because of the decay of capitalism. Revolutions are the result of class struggles. The socialist system and the loss of colonies intensify the capitalist crises. The mightiest capitalist power of all, the United States, has been affected more than any other capitalist country. The United States economy has suffered three shocks since the end of World War II. I am talking of the following economic crises in the United States: 1949 - 1950; 1953 - 1954; and 1957 - 1958.

"The drop in production in the United States recession of 1949 was eight percent. The drop in production in the United States recession of 1953 was ten percent, and in 1957, the drop in production in the United States was 14 percent. Now, United States

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

economists predict even a greater drop. Figures show that the United States is the land of the greatest unemployment. In 1959, there were three million, eight hundred thousand registered unemployed. In the first ten months of 1960, a little over four million were unemployed in the United States. At the same time many millions were only partially employed in the United States. 47 percent of the steel plant in the United States is idle. In September, 1960, only 53 percent of the United States steel plant was in operation. The rate of production in the United States is slowing down and is barely keeping up with the increase in the population. The production level in the United States for the year 1960 is no higher than that of the year 1959.

"The United States share of world industrial output dropped from 50 percent in 1954 to 46.7 percent in 1959. The foreign trade of the United States or its share of world exports has shrunk to 30 percent.

"Regarding other capitalist countries, we must note an increasing rivalry between them. Even NATO is full of contradictions, and the arming of West Germany intensifies these contradictions. I therefore agree with the draft statement that the general crisis of capitalism is becoming intensified. This crisis of capitalism is not due to war and is taking place in a peaceful period. This shows that peaceful co-existence favors socialism and does not, as some say, strengthen capitalism.

"The world socialist system is the greatest motive force of our time. We need to cement the unity of the socialist camp in order to aid the victory of the colonial struggle and the movement for independence.

"Since the 1957 Moscow meeting, there has been a growth in the economic might of the socialist camp. During the period, 1957 to 1959, the share of the socialist countries in world output was 37 percent. The average rate of growth in all of the socialist countries was 17 percent. During the last ten years, the rate of growth of the socialist camp averaged 14 percent. While in the same ten year period, the rate of growth for the United States was 2.4 percent. Therefore, the social and economic possibilities for restoring capitalism in the lands of socialism have been eliminated.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"We can therefore say: 1) that the main material and cultural bases for Communism have been laid; 2) that this will be built to even a higher level, and 3) that we have laid the material bases for socialist man. Industrial output of the socialist camp has increased not merely by 80 percent, but has approximately doubled during the past decade. At the 4th Congress of the Comintern in 1922, the USSR decided to put 20 million rubles into heavy industry. This figure was contained in the report of Lenin to that Congress. In the period between 1960 and 1980, our master plan for the USSR, without burdening you with figures, could be described as thrilling. We will be putting into life what Lenin dreamed about.

"In the USSR today, we have 20 million metal workers. 32 percent of the Soviet citizens who are engaged in physical labor have either a high school or college education. We have possibilities in our country to gradually eliminate the differences between physical and mental labor.

"Soviet science is making rapid progress. The launching of the sputniks, space ships, etc. shows the superiority of socialist science. In 1950, the Soviet Union produced 30 percent of the output of the United States. In 1960, the Soviet Union produces 60 percent of the output of the United States, but in 1970 we will equal or even surpass the output of the United States on a per capita basis and per capita output.

"The USSR will defeat the United States on material production and capitalism will suffer defeat. By 1970, the USSR, together with the other peoples' democracies, will produce one-third of the world production. This will be a big victory for socialism. People all over the world will see in a socialist system, an example of a happy life and will be influenced in their thinking.

"The draft statement points out the need to improve our economy and to work along scientific lines. This has been our practice in the USSR. We have due regard for objective conditions. We take into consideration scientific management and planning. We do not engage in leaps and jumps.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

"The Volga River is now almost completely controlled by hydro-electric power stations. There are bigger plans now coming into being in the Yenisei River in Siberia. At the present time, the Baku region gives us less than 15 percent of our oil production. Before the Revolution, two-thirds of all the oil produced in our country came from Baku. We have found other resources all over the USSR and we are exploiting these resources.

"Mankind still has no complete scientific practice of the working of Communism. Once it was only a theory. Marxism laid down some general laws for struggle, but now we need to know how Communism will work. Marxist-Leninist theory cannot be separated from practice. We of the USSR are going through a transition from socialism to Communism. We are educating the people. In the advance to Communism, management becomes more complicated. We must therefore devote more time to planning. In 1958, we gave our regional organizations responsibility for management. We put democratic centralism into effect. We retained control for the overall plan, but we tried to put democracy into practice. We did the same thing in regard to farm policy, cooperatives, etc.

"We carry on a fight against equalitarian tendencies because these cause damage to our collectives, hamper production, etc. We cannot ignore the material needs of the people. This neglect would add grist to the troubadours of anti-Communism. We still practice - from each according to his ability, for each according to his work. We are also changing the moral basis for production. Communist work teams, consisting of the more advanced and conscious workers, team up regardless of material incentive in order to help the more backward workers.

"We want you to keep in mind that many of the requirements of our people are met free of charge. I will not go into all of these things, but they include such items as medical care, education, etc.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

"The Party in the Soviet Union pays a lot of attention to the theory of socialism. Our country abolished classes long ago. We are turning over some state functions to public organizations. This does not weaken the socialist state. It only strengthens the socialist state through self-government.

"The CPSU studies the fraternal parties of other countries, particularly the capitalist countries. This places responsibilities on all socialist countries. There are no insoluble contradictions between the socialist countries.

"The Soviet Union has built 550 large industrial plants in the other socialist countries. At the same time, the Soviet Union gave these countries other forms of help. It is a natural phenomenon that the ties of the socialist countries will grow stronger and that they will be pooling their productive efforts in the interest of all socialist countries. A division of labor and cooperation will raise the level of all socialist countries. This is an effective way of showing the backward countries and nations how to develop. We can also cite the examples of our national republics. Although we have some rough edges in the socialist community, these will be straightened out. The international nature of socialism causes some rough edges. These are new things for us, but in the end, internationalism will prevail and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, we will solve these new problems.

"Marx, Engels, and Lenin saw not only the need to abolish capitalist oppression, but also to free society of war. The CPSU, basing itself on Marxism-Leninism, says that wars are due to hostile and antagonistic classes. Therefore, mankind will rid itself of war when it gets rid of classes on a world scale.

"In regard to the question of world wars, we are resolute opponents of such wars. Only the imperialists want wars because they want to plunder. In the past, they could influence circumstances and go to war. At that time we used to say, turn the imperialist war into civil war. Now, however, the situation is different. We have a socialist camp which can influence circumstances.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"Imperialism, despite the disagreements, is united against Communism, primarily against the Soviet Union. Now there is a possibility that the imperialists may fight among themselves, but they must stop and think of the consequences before starting a war. It is more difficult nowadays for the imperialists to start a war. If Hitler knew that in the end he would have to commit suicide, he would not have started a war. This example can be applied to classes and to a system.

"We have to keep in mind that a socialist camp does exist and that there are possibilities to prevent war. Concerning local wars, the imperialists may start wars of this type but we have to fight these wars. We must fight against local wars and prevent them from spreading. I want to again remind you of the attack on Egypt and how we warned Great Britain that we would not remain neutral. Some of the imperialists said, we have our Egypt; you have your Hungary, do not intervene. But we did. We stopped a counter-revolution and an aggression in Hungary and Egypt.

"In regard to wars of national liberation, as long as we have imperialists and colonialists such as those in Algeria, there will be wars for freedom. These are just wars. The Algerian war is a just war and the United States and Great Britain are helping France in this war with arms, supplies and on the political front. This is a sacred war and we shall help Algeria. Cuba had such a war. Cuba won. These popular uprisings can result in war. However, our attitude towards such popular uprisings must be positive. We should not identify such wars with wars between states. To such uprisings we give substantial assistance, material and otherwise.

"In regard to the preventing of a world war, we cannot allow a decaying capitalist system to drag hundreds of millions of people into the grave with it. A couple of atomic and hydrogen bombs can do more damage today than all the explosives of World War II. The explosion of four of these bombs in Great Britain could kill at least 20 million people. United States scientists have pointed out that in 24 hours, 50 to 75 million people will die in a nuclear war. Dr. Linus Pauling of the United States

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

said that between 400 and 700 million people would die within 60 days if there was a nuclear war on a world wide scale.

"We are concerned with the destinies of mankind. We are concerned with the fate of the working class. Lenin talked about the saving of the working man. He was always against war. We have no right to endanger the socialist countries and their peoples. War is not needed for the advance of the socialist system. When we tell masses of people of the dangerous consequences of war, we rally their righteous anger against nuclear war. It is not a question of whether or not there will be war, but how to fight against war. We must be guided by Lenin's concept of peaceful co-existence. The socialist content of peaceful co-existence is struggle on the economic, political and cultural front, but without war.

"In the field of atomic and hydrogen bombs, military science and techniques permit us to progress at a fast pace. We are also working for the eventual breakdown of NATO, SEATO and similar organizations. In the recent period, imperialism has failed to get a single nation to join its military blocs.

"In regard to a peaceful settlement of the German question, we must compel the imperialists to come to their senses on Germany. If they delay, if they balk, we will sign a treaty with the German Democratic Republic.

"We must pay more serious attention to Japan. The United States position there is insecure. If we cannot wreck the treaty, we can reduce its actual value. If the prevention of war is our duty today, disarmament is the way to do it. There are some people who question the slogan, a world without arms, without wars. However, this is a lofty aim of the people. This is not bourgeois idealism as some say. We do not give up humanism to the bourgeoisie.

"Marx spoke about rivals in the intercourse of nations. The struggle for peace will unite not only the working class, but will influence sections of the capitalist class who fear the consequences of a thermo-nuclear war. An example of a

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

member of the capitalist class who fears the consequences of a thermo-nuclear war is United States industrialist Cyrus Eaton and there are others. Those who fear and fight war support our struggles against imperialism even though they may not realize this. However, they will, in the future, see that Communism can realize this aim.

"We must take these destructive arms from the hands of the imperialists and thus protect peace. This is the meaning of disarmament. This is in the interest of the class struggle too.

"Lenin, in speaking and writing about the preserving of peace, used to tell us, 'use the sensible representatives of the bourgeoisie and do not ignore the pacifists. Cooperate with them for peace. There are two approaches in the camp of imperialism. Some sections are for war. Some sections see the dangers in a nuclear war. We must retain the initiative and use two tactics and these are: 1) to fight for disarmament and peace, and 2) to expose the cold warriors.

"We can do this if we do not isolate ourselves, fence ourselves off. If we want to carry on an active foreign policy, we must meet with the capitalists. What are we afraid of? We are the most constant champions of peace and the people will in time identify peace with Communism. In some countries, we must overcome the pacifity of the peace movement and carry on a more vigorous propaganda campaign to counter anti-Communism.

"We must put more emphasis on the youth. The youth is the core of modern armies. Things are in our favor. One and one-half billion people have freed themselves from imperialism. Cuba is the latest high point. We must learn how to work in the democratic movements, how to unite them, how to bring about interacting with the proletarian revolution.

"The bourgeoisie and the revisionists say that the people in the colonies have been granted their freedom. This is nonsense. They use this argument to act as the so-called third force. The fact of the matter is that until the socialist camp came into existence, the breakdown of the colonial system was impossible.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"United States imperialism is trying to invigorate capitalism with new blood. They sometimes do succeed in snaring good people. The imperialists cannot openly intervene as in the old days. Therefore, they use other methods including the setting up of dictatorships, strong men, etc. But they will fail. Capitalism has discredited itself. The oppressed peoples will remember how their rights have been denied. They have no real independence. We have already watched this happen in a number of countries on which the United States had a grip.

"Now I want to deal with, or emphasize, aid to underdeveloped countries. In 1955, we only spent 20 million rubles in aid to backward countries. As of today, we have laid out ten billion rubles to these countries. Some question whether it is worth it. We say it is.

"There is a growing vanguard in these backward countries. It is a growing working class in these countries and the members of this working class are winning allies. We must find new methods of working in these countries. I favor the thesis of the draft resolution in regard to the national democracies. We must seek new forms to unite all forces who want to fight imperialism and destroy the remnants of feudalism.

"Concerning social slogans, we must expose the bourgeois leaders who use these slogans to fool the people. There is not a grain of socialism in these leaders, their slogans or their labels. We must help the people smash the last link of colonialism. We are not helping them to set up a social system from without. We are not acting as benefactors, but we will give them real aid. We have given expression to this in our resolution on colonialism which we presented to the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations. Colonialism breeds war, therefore, we want to do away with it.

"I want to address a word of thanks to the great teachers of the world movement, Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Marxism-Leninism is our guide and teacher. Communism went through trials and dangers but it survived. Communism can be compared to deep-rooted giant trees. The Communist movement remains unshaken despite

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

storms. 41 years ago we had the first congress of the Comintern. There were 30 countries represented but only five Communist Parties. At that time there were no CPs in Asia, Latin America, Africa, or Australia. Today, Communism has penetrated all corners of the globe. 12 new parties have come into being since the Moscow conference in 1957. Marx, Engels, and Lenin would be happy if they could see a meeting like this. Communism has become a topical task. We must light the way.

"For us Soviet Communists, Marxism-Leninism is axiomatic. In regard to the transition to socialism, we said at our 20th Congress that it can be peaceful and non-peaceful, but peaceful transition would be in the interests of the masses. However, if the imperialists should launch a counter-revolution there would be resolute civil war. On this question of parliamentary methods, we were not speaking just of making political alliances in parliament. We should strive to win the majority and fill parliamentary action with content.

"The conclusions arrived at during the 20th Congress of the CPSU were not merely the conclusions of the CPSU. These conclusions were based on Marxism-Leninism, but we also took into consideration the experiences of other fraternal Parties. Lenin clearly saw the question of the methods of revolution and transition to socialism. We want to make it easier for the CPs.

"It will become more difficult for imperialism to interfere in revolutions in other countries. We do not favor the export of revolution, but we will fight against the export of counter-revolution. The Party cadre in the capitalist countries knows better than others how to conduct their revolution when the time comes for it. We know from our own experience that each CP in each country knows how and when to decide this serious question. We would only like to advise the cadres to put more stress on winning the youth.

"The Communists in the United States and in the Western European countries face great difficulty. But we are sure they will make their contribution to the transformation of the capitalist system.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING DAY OF SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"Now a few words in regard to Yugoslav revisionism and revisionism and dogmatism. The CPs have emerged from the struggle against revisionism stronger and wiser. The Yugoslav revisionists have used "national Communism" to tear their country away from the socialist bloc. They surrendered to United States imperialism under the guise of a third force. They have incorporated the ideas of the opportunists, such as Kautsky, Bernstein and others, into their program.

"United States imperialism uses Yugoslav revisionism to undermine and to disrupt the socialist camp and the Marxist-Leninist movement. This struggle of the national petty bourgeoisie resisting socialism is pushed into the foreground as the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes a world force.

"The dogmatists are blind to the changes and the processes of change in this world. They have a penchant for quotations. Marxist-Leninists base themselves on objective reality. Sectarians separate themselves from objective reality. The CPSU delegation therefore states that the draft statement is correct and that we have to struggle on two fronts. Here it might be well to remember what we said in the Moscow Declaration of 1957. At one time or another, one of these deviations can be the main danger.

"Unity is of great importance in this crucial period. Unity, unity, unity, such is the law of our advance. This is a prerequisite for the building of socialism and Communism. Some object to the stress on this in the draft declaration. They say that the question of unity is only an internal question, but the CPSU supports the propositions of the Cuban and Brazilian comrades on the need for unity. Loyalty to ideology is the main thing, but Lenin once spoke about unity in absentia.

"There must be unity of will and action. We will declare, in conformity with Marxism-Leninism, that if we endorse this idea of unity, we will make a great contribution. The CPSU will make its contribution to internationalism. However, we do not want phrases such as, led by the CPSU, or the CPSU stands at the head, in the draft statement. We do not need it. It is incorrect. The

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING DAY SESSIONS OF  
THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

CPSU does not lead other CPs. All the CPs are equal and independent. All the CPs are responsible to the people of their country and to the international working class.

"The CPSU was the first Party to build socialism and it is now building Communism. It is experienced, perhaps more so than other Parties, but it is only an advanced detachment of the Communist movement. Why should we give the enemy a chance to talk of Moscow-led Parties, about Communists being disloyal to their countries, etc.? We of the CPSU do not give orders to other Parties. There are no rules regulating the relations of Parties. Like all CPs, we are guided by Marxism-Leninism. Each CP has its own cadre.

"I want to conclude. I want to declare my sympathy for Communist prisoners in the United States, Paraguay, Iran, Portugal and other countries. I want to say that international documents are our time piece. Who will decide disputes among us? Only discussions and exchange of opinions and then the abiding by decisions will decide. The CPSU will do everything to strengthen the bonds and unity between all fraternal Parties. We always stood on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. All of us stand on the same platform facing a common enemy. We are living and working in a new historical epoch and we must unite and bend every effort for victory."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 1/10/61

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. W. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)

OSOLO  
IS - C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau seven copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing the essence of a speech delivered by TENG Hsiao-ping on 11/24/60, to the meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia.

Including the representatives, translators, advisors and technicians, approximately 300 people attended this meeting. The proceedings of the meeting were not made public. While six representatives of the Communist Party, USA, were present, it is the opinion of CG 5824-S\* that no one from the CP, USA, delegation has notes which are as complete as those of CG 5824-S\*. For this reason, and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions in above Bulet.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN and Stenographer [redacted] on 1/5/61.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)
- 1 - New York (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)
- 100-134637 (SOLO)
- 1 - Chicago

JEK:LMA/amk  
(5)

GALE

REC-67

25 JAN 12 1961

58 FEB 2 1961

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D.C.  
January 10, 1961

NOVEMBER 24, 1960; SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO THE MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information:

On November 24, 1960, the meeting of the representatives of the 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties, for the second time during the meeting, heard a speech by TENG Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China (CPC). The sessions of this meeting were held in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia. Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCPSU), had delivered a second speech at the meeting on November 23, 1960. The following is the essence of the remarks of TENG Hsiao-ping:

"The CPC in a previous speech hoped to remove some differences. Many Parties were opposed to our view, but we believe there is some misunderstanding. Some disagreed on principle and said that we departed from the Moscow Declaration. Some slandered us for our so-called counter line, and Comrade Khrushchev repeated these slanders. We will only answer two questions: 1) did we uphold the Moscow Declaration? and 2) did we hinder unity?"

"Since 1957 we have had a viewpoint on international problems. We have always adhered to the Moscow Declaration and here at the drafting committee meeting we joined the other 25 Parties trying to reach unanimity. This draft declaration basically is in conformity with the 1957 Declaration. We agreed with most of it. We only wanted to improve it and strengthen our unity, but at this meeting we are wrongly being charged with violating the agreement. An objective attitude will show that our proposals and the parts of the draft already agreed to are not in opposition to the Declaration of 1957."

"Some arbitrarily attack our three articles ('Long Live Leninism') and say we failed to see the present world situation."

~~TOP SECRET~~

ENCLOSURE

~~TOP SECRET~~

Photostated  
1/19/61  
JCS  
JWL

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 24, 1960, SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO THE MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

The truth is that we do see that the forces of socialism, the forces of peace, are superior and that the East Wind prevails. That is different than in Lenin's time, but at the same time we point to the need for arduous struggle. Some claim we are against peaceful co-existence and believe in the inevitability of war. This is not so. We point out that when relying on the socialist camp and all peace forces, world war can be avoided, but we do show the need for vigilance.

"Some wars will take place. National revolutionary wars and liberation wars will occur. Do the comrades charge that because we hold this view we say that world war is inevitable? This is not so. We hold that the possibility to realize the socialist revolution through a peaceful way is very rare. Therefore, we need to prepare for both ways. This is re-affirmed in the present draft.

"Why then the fantastic deductions? Some say that our articles ("Long Live Leninism") do not see the new situation. We say we are not dogmatic like we are charged. We only repeat the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. Modern revisionism says that Marxism-Leninism is outmoded. This is not true and it is the duty of all Communists to fight this.

"Such charges that we are following a special line are false. Why did we publish the three articles? Consider the date of publication. United States imperialism is preparing for war while hoodwinking the people. Recall the concrete period. You will see that the revisionists were active and this needed exposure.

"These articles were not written against Comrade Khrushchev's visit to the United States. Some describe Comrade Khrushchev's visit to the United States as a new era. Some even said that at Camp David President Eisenhower was sincere. We say that when imperialism is abolished wars will be abolished and wealth will be used for the people. If we talk of a new era and a spirit of Camp David, this is bad for the struggle against imperialism.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 24, 1960, SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO THE MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~SECRET~~

"Many Communist journals rarely talked against imperialism and not against the United States imperialism. Some comrades even said colonialism is gone; therefore, there is no imperialism. President Eisenhower received a welcome in India. Maurice Thorez said that this was because of the Chinese border dispute but Ike visited France, too, and Thorez criticized the comrades who went overboard in welcoming Eisenhower in France. What about it, Thorez?

"Those who attack us should ponder why nothing is said about the Moscow Declaration. We hold that it is necessary to check this tendency, which we saw in April, 1960, to depart from the Moscow Declaration. Some have asked why we did not ask other Parties before we published our articles. We do not need such consultations about attacking those who departed from the Moscow Declaration. We only talked about the past, but since some charged us with deviating from the Moscow Declaration of 1957 we have to, therefore, correct these false assertions.

"Thanks to a change of view in the past, we have solved many differences on the appraisal of the world situation. The drafting committee worked correctly but some are again pushing wrong views. The Soviet comrades again reiterate the wrong aim for "a world without arms and wars." Some said "nuclear war will destroy the world," but in the draft we say, if such a war does take place we will destroy imperialism. This is a step forward and is also in contradiction to the viewpoint of the Soviet comrades.

"Now that all of us have expressed loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and reached agreement on most of the draft, we can reach unanimity on the rest of the problems. Do we threaten unity? Facts show that during the past year we fought for unity. Examine closely the speech we delivered here and see if it is rather not an attack on those who attacked us. In their speeches some comrades have repeated denunciations of us and have created new obstacles to unity. This is exceedingly regrettable.

"We are willing to study what others say. No Party or individual is exempt from mistakes, but if we made mistakes we would know it. In debates we sometimes make sharp remarks.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 24, 1960, SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO THE MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

Comrade Khrushchev said that we place our dignity above the Marxist-Leninist movement. This is not so. We must say things objectively. Some comrades did not study our views critically but attacked us instead. Some comrades said that Comrade Hoxha made a bad speech. Maybe some of his remarks were bad but it is wrong to say that he slandered anybody. It is better to look into facts. Let the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) look into facts rather than slandering the Albanian Party. Comrade Gomulka surprises us by charging that the Albanian speech was hooliganism. Albania is a socialist country surrounded by the enemy. The Albanian comrades want to reach an agreement and they are not carrying on factional activities. Some even slandered us and charged that there is a division of labor between us and the Albanians. What about the other Parties who expressed views identical to others? This is disturbing.

What exactly is factional activity in the world Communist movement? There has been no reply so far. This is placed erroneously. Some argue that there is unity only if we follow the Soviet comrades, right or wrong. This is harmful. Common agreements should be observed by all. This is the attitude of the CPC. The CPSU is the leading Party, but when it makes moves it should not expect support without consultations. This is bad for normal relationships and unity.

Comrade Khrushchev yesterday expressed views on Stalin and on peaceful transition. We hold that such viewpoints should first be discussed. According to Comrade Khrushchev's logic the CPSU Congresses are for all Parties, but there has been no consultation by Khrushchev. He only wants us to accept.

Comrade MAO Tse-tung was attacked by Comrade Khrushchev and he made all kinds of insinuations against him. He charged that Comrade MAO Tse-tung is separated from life, that he sits in his study divorced from the masses. We reject this. We know MAO Tse-tung. We say that all the Communist Parties must be united and yet independent. We must have consultations and unanimous agreement, not the imposing of majority views. Those who oppose us have not given thought to our desire for consultations. They say we want to force our views on the majority.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 24, 1960; SPEECH OF TENG  
HSIAO-PING TO THE MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"We repeat, Marxism-Leninism is the basis for our unity and prolonged consultations will bring unanimity. We did this in 1957 at Moscow. The threat to unity of the international movement does not come from our insistence on consultation. We are willing to exert every effort for a common document. Now that we have agreed on most of the document we should not allow the remainder to threaten our unity.

"In the draft there is still the part on factionalism, and there is the charge of national Communism, and there is still the point on the 20th and 21st Congresses. This is an effort to impose your views on us and is detrimental to unity. The CPC will not agree to these. Supposing we don't write these things into the document. Will this threaten our unity? It is better to leave these things out and reach unanimity against the common enemy. Yes, it is better to leave something out. In a protracted struggle we united against imperialism. We hope we can once again unite and restore our friendship so that we can unitedly fight the enemy."

At the conclusion of the speech of TENG Hsiao-ping, John Gollan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, said that the British are against further discussions.

Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, objected to the statement of John Gollan and said he thought the discussions should continue.

Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the CCCPSU, said he thought the motive of those who did not want more discussions was good but the CPSU believes that those who want the floor should be given the opportunity to speak.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *ABW*

DATE: January 24, 1961

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Belmont	_____
Callahan	_____
DeLoach	_____
Malone	_____
McGuire	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
W. C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Ingram	_____
Gandy	_____

Chicago airtel 1-17-61 discloses that CG 5824-S\* during the eighth SOLO mission to Moscow, Russia, met with Vladimir Barkovsky in Moscow on 12-13-60. Barkovsky is a counselor assigned to the Soviet Mission to the United Nations. He returned to the United States on 12-23-60 to resume his duties at the United Nations for the Soviet Union. Barkovsky has been informant's contact in New York City on previous clandestine meetings.

Barkovsky made tentative arrangements with CG 5824-S\* for Barkovsky to meet with NY 694-S\* in New York City during January, 1961, and told CG 5824-S\* that if any money were to be delivered, it would not be delivered at the office of NY 694-S\* because that office is too close to Communist Party, USA, headquarters. Barkovsky said that any Communist Party, USA, documents being delivered to him should be on microfilm. The role of film should be so wrapped that Barkovsky can pull a string and expose the film in case he gets caught or gets into a tight spot.

ACTION:

For information. Future meetings between our informants and Barkovsky are being closely supervised and you will be promptly advised of the results of these planned clandestine meetings.

100-428091

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr.

 FFF:lcl  
 (5) *lcl*

 b6  
 b7C

REC-59

100-428091-1138

15 JAN 27 1961

EX - 113

57 FEB 1 1961

INT. SEC.

1 - Mr. Donahoe  
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

b6  
b7c

Legal Attache, Mexico City

January 27, 1961

Director, FBI (100-428091)

*Y*  
~~COMMUNIST PARTY, USA~~  
~~INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS~~  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

The Bureau has learned that a representative of the Communist Party, USA, has been advised he should continue to retain Xavier Guerrero, a well-known artist, as the contact with the Communist Party of Mexico.

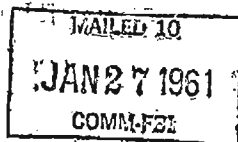
This is for your information and is not to be disseminated.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Information contained in Chicago airtel dated 1-18-61 captioned "Solo, IS - C." CG 5824-S\* was instructed during his recent Solo mission to use Guerrero as his contact with the CP of Mexico. These instructions were given by Arnolando Martinez Verdugo, General Secretary of the CP of Mexico. No action is necessary by Legat, Mexico, as CG 5824-S\* will make these contacts.

EX 100

REC-25



100-428091-1139  
19 JAN 27 1961  
*W*  
*1139*  
*2/28/61*  
*7*  
*7/28/61*  
*Just*

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

57 FEB 1 1961

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

JWL:kmo  
MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FBI

Date: 1/20/61

REC-57

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Malone	
Mr. McGuire	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Trotter	
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Ingram	
Miss Gandy	

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

CG 5824-S\* orally furnished the information on the following pages to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on December 27, 1960. It pertains to the activities of CG 5824-S\* in Prague on 9/26 and 9/27/60. CG 5824-S\* arrived in Prague, Czechoslovakia from Paris, France, on 9/26/60 and departed for Moscow on 9/27/60.

Due to the nature of the information and the manner in which it was obtained, it is not being incorporated in a letterhead memorandum.

- 1-1243 with 1 encl  
③ - Bureau (AM) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM)  
1 - Chicago

JEK:ntb  
(5)

GALE

REC-57

100-428091-1140  
20 JAN 21 1961

LCC: Wick

ENCLOSURE

JAN 6 1961

Approved: James H. Gale  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_



ACTIVITIES IN PRAGUE,  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA ON  
SEPTEMBER 26 AND  
SEPTEMBER 27, 1960

Upon arrival in Prague, Czechoslovakia on September 26, 1960, MORRIS CHILDS met with ALDRICH KADERKA, Assistant to GUSTAV SOUCEK, who is the Head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (CP) of Czechoslovakia and also with LADISLAV KOTZMAN, who is also in the International Department of the Central Committee of the CP of Czechoslovakia. They were encouraging representatives of various CPs going to Moscow to support the viewpoint of the CP of the Soviet Union (CPSU). They indicated that there was no improvement in the relationship with representatives of the CP of China, and that the ideological dispute between the CP of China and the CPSU was not being resolved.

LOUIS WEINSTOCK and  
PHIL CONNELLY

*U.S.A.*  
*Czech*  
LOUIS WEINSTOCK and PHIL CONNELLY were in Prague, Czechoslovakia to attend a meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions. CONNELLY was also to see about doing publicity work for the World Federation of Trade Unions in the social organizations of the United Nations.

WEINSTOCK has just returned to Prague from Budapest, Hungary, where he attended the wedding of his daughter. WEINSTOCK's daughter married a Hungarian, name not known, who works for the Security Police. The rule, that Hungarians cannot marry foreigners, was waived. The wedding was a state affair. PAUL ROBESON participated in the ceremonies which were on television.

WEINSTOCK was short of funds. He said that CONNELLY owes him \$1,000. He stated that he had borrowed money in Hungary.

CHILDS borrowed \$521.00 from KOTZMAN and gave it to WEINSTOCK. A messenger was sent from the office of the

"World Marxist Review" with \$200.00 which was given to CHILDS. This sum represents payment for an article by GUS HALL which dealt with the collapse of the Summit Meeting in Paris.

Visit to the Chinese  
Embassy in Prague

*U.S.A. Czech*  
~~ABE~~ CHAPMAN, a former resident of the United States and ~~China~~, delivered a message to CHILDS that some Chinese in Prague would like to see him. CHAPMAN said that he did not want to get involved in any discussion with the Chinese. CHILDS told CHAPMAN that he could tell the Chinese that CHILDS was staying at the CP hotel in Prague.

The Chinese Embassy called on September 27, 1960, and at noon sent two people to take CHILDS to the Chinese Embassy in Prague. CHILDS was due to take a 4:30 p.m. plane to Moscow. CHILDS talked to the Chinese Ambassador and a translator for approximately one hour. CHILDS said that the CP, USA wants to have good relations with the CP of China, but supports the viewpoint of the CPSU in the ideological dispute between the CPSU and the CP of China.

CHILDS said that he had heard that the CP of China has a letter dated September 10, 1960, dealing with this ideological dispute. He asked for a copy of it. He was informed that he could read a copy but he could not be given a copy. Because of time limitations CHILDS said he would contact the Chinese comrades in Moscow.

F B I

Date: 1/20/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Ingram	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies, and to the New York Division, one copy, of a letterhead memorandum containing information that SEVERO AGUIRRE of the People's Socialist Party of Cuba reported to the CPSU on the 8th National Assembly of the PSP.

The letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~" because CG 5824-S\* is the only member of the CP, USA known to have seen AGUIRRE in Czechoslovakia and to know that AGUIRRE had been in Moscow. The place of issue was reflected as Washington, D.C. to further protect CG 5824-S\*.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/27/60.

GALE

- ③ - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 1 - Chicago

JEK:ntb  
 (5)

Copy to: CIA/State/~~OSI~~  
 ONI/OSI/G2  
 by routing slip for info.  
 Date 1-25-61 by ERH:slr

REC-66

100-428091-114

20 JAN 1961

ENCLOSURE

G. E. Wick

cc: B. Gardner

EX-113

Approved: *James H. Gale*

Sent

Special Agent in Charge

57 FEB 7 1961

b6  
b7c

UNRECORDED IN

64-200-210  
COMMUNIST PARTY - CUBA



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D.C.  
January 20, 1961

~~SECRET~~

SEVERO AGUIRRE OF THE PEOPLE'S  
SOCIALIST PARTY (PSP) OF CUBA  
REPORTED TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF THE SOVIET UNION (CPSU) ON THE  
8TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PSP

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

~~CZECH~~ During the latter part of September, 1960, Severo Aguirre, a member of the People's Socialist Party (PSP) of Cuba, which is the Communist Party (CP) in Cuba, was in Prague, Czechoslovakia. Aguirre was returning to Cuba from Moscow, Russia, where he had given a report to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) on the 8th National Assembly of the PSP which was held during August, 1960.

~~CUBA-RUSSIA-CZECH~~  
Aguirre was waiting in Prague to see Anibal Escalante, a Secretary of the Central Committee of the PSP. Escalante was enroute from Cuba to Moscow for the October and November meeting of representatives of CPs and Workers' Parties.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

100-428091-1141  
ENCLOSURE

1 - Mr. Donohue  
1 - Mr. [redacted]

b6  
b7C

SAC, Chicago (134-46-Sub B)

January 27, 1961

REC- 73

Director, FBI (100-428091) 1142

SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurairtel 1-17-61, copy furnished New York, disclosing that Vladimir Barkovsky was still interested in a third person for contacts in New York City between him and CG 5824-S\* and that Barkovsky would like a biography of any person suggested.

Chicago and New York are instructed to submit recommendations to the Bureau by 2-8-61 as to whether it would be feasible to work in one of our informants as a third person for these clandestine meetings, such as [redacted] or [redacted]

Referenced airtel also discloses that Barkovsky has indicated he will no longer deliver money to NY 694-S\* at the informant's office because it is too close to Communist Party, USA, headquarters and to the Four Continent Book Store.

b7D

New York is instructed to submit recommendation by 2-8-61 as to the feasibility of moving the informant's office to another location in New York City.

2 - New York (100-134637)

NOTE ON YELLOW:

We feel this situation presents us with an opportunity of getting another of our informants in a position of trust with the CPUSA and with foreign CP's. We should take advantage of it. [redacted] Negro, is a Chicago informant who is a former member of the CPUSA National Committee and National Executive Committee. He is a member of the Illinois

NOTE ON YELLOW CONTINUED PAGE TWO

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Parsons  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Malone  
Mr. McGuire  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Trotter  
Mr. W.G. Sullivan  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Ingram  
Miss Gandy

FFF:kmo  
(7)

Mail Room

Letter to Chicago  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

NOTE ON YELLOW CONTINUED:

CP State Committee and State Board; a member of the National Negro Commission; and is Chairman of the Illinois CP State Negro Commission. [redacted] white, is a member of a Wall Street brokerage firm. He is reputedly a former CP angel and allegedly a former member of the "Wall Street group" of the CP. He is known personally to NY 694-S\*. b7D

In order to assure continued contacts between Barkovsky, a counselor assigned to the Soviet Mission to the United Nations, and NY 694-S\*, it may be advisable to change the location of the informant's office. Informant's office has been used for the passage of Solo funds.

F B I

Date: 1/17/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS - C

CG 5824-S\* orally furnished the information on the following pages to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/27/60. The information pertains to meetings of CG 5824-S\* in Moscow, Russia, with PETR BORISSOV and VLADIMIR BARKOVSKY. BORISSOV is the subject of Bufile 105-28360. BARKOVSKY is assigned to the Russian Delegation to the United Nations and is the regular contact of CG 5824-S\* and NY 694-S\* in New York City.

GALE

b6  
b7c

REG-73

100-428091-1142

JAN 31 1961

- 100-428091-1142  
100-12437
- 3 - Bureau (AM) (RM)
  - 1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM)
  - 1 - Chicago

JEK:Plb

(5)

1-24-61

Let H. G. ... FFF: del  
2-7-61 ... 777: del

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Chicago, Illinois  
December 27, 1960

MEETINGS IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA,  
WITH PETR PAVLOVICH BORISOV  
AND VLADIMIR BAROVSKY

During October, 1960, Morris Childs, representing the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), met with Petr Borisov in the room of Childs in a hotel restricted to CP members who were in Moscow, Russia, as guests of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU). This hotel is located at Platnikov Paraulik (phonetic), Number 12. It is near Arbatskaya Street, the main polyclinic and the Foreign Office.

At this meeting between Childs and Borisov, conversation was limited to a complaint by Childs that he was not satisfied with arrangements for meeting with a representative of the CP, SU, in New York City.

On December 13, 1960, Morris Childs met with Vladimir Barkovsky in Room 619 of the hotel mentioned previously. Barkovsky said that he was still interested in a third person for these contacts in New York City and would like a biography of any person suggested. 114

Barkovsky said that sometime during January, 1961, he would contact Jack Childs telephonically and arrange to meet with Jack Childs. If a call is made in the morning, the meeting would be the same day. If the call is made after noon, the meeting would be the following day. Jack Childs should go to the Townhouse Restaurant, his usual place of contact, and go through the normal procedure of walking out of the restaurant and turning to the left at 7:00 p.m. Barkovsky said that he might be in an automobile and often is not alone when he makes these personal contacts.

100-428091-1142  
ENCLOSURE



Barkovsky said that if any money is to be delivered, it will not be delivered at the office of Jack Childs in the Flat Iron Building because this building is too close to the headquarters of the CP, USA, and to the Four Continent Book Store.

Barkovsky said that any CP, USA, documents being delivered to him should be on microfilm. The roll of film should be so wrapped that he can pull a string and expose the film in case he gets caught or gets into a tight spot.

The next meeting place for Barkovsky and Morris Childs will again be the Willard Theater in Queens. Barkovsky said he would prefer that Morris Childs make direct contact with him only on rare occasions. Previous arrangements for setting up emergency meetings by telephoning the headquarters of the Russian Delegation to the United Nations are still in effect.

Barkovsky said that he wants at least 40 minutes before making a personal contact in order to ascertain whether or not he is being followed. It is all right if Morris Childs goes to the Willard Theater well before 7:00 p.m. as long as he leaves the theater at 7:00 p.m. No date was set for the next meeting between Barkovsky and Morris Childs.

Barkovsky and later Nikolai <sup>V</sup> Mostovets, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU, said that the CP, USA, should use the CP of Canada only for short messages to the CP, SU.

CP OF SOVIET RUSSIA  
Barkovsky said that he feels that he will be in New York City through 1961.

F B I

Date: 1/23/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

*oh*  
*E/L*

SOLO  
IS-C

*S. Doyle*  
*Br...*  
*B...*  
*...*

CG 5824-S\* orally furnished the information on the following pages to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/27/60. It concerns MICKEY LIMA and the CP, USA delegation to the Moscow meeting of 81 CPs and Workers' Parties. Because of the nature of the information and the manner in which it was obtained, it is not being incorporated in a letterhead memorandum.

The San Francisco Division has previously been advised that the CPSU was suspicious of MICKEY LIMA. The San Francisco Division is being advised of the plans of LIMA to make a trip to China during 1961.

This airtel completes all the information furnished to date by CG 5824-S\* in regard to the recent SOLO trip. There are a few odds and ends concerning individuals which had not been furnished by CG 5824-S\* prior to his departure for New York City on 1/13/61. This information will be obtained from CG 5824-S\* as soon as CG 5824-S\* returns from the meeting of the National Committee of the CP, USA in New York City.

In regard to the 11/60 meeting of 81 CPs and Workers' Parties, CG 5824-S\* had advised that approximately 78 speeches were delivered at this meeting. The Bureau has been furnished details of approximately 21 of these speeches. Many of the remaining speeches, according to CG 5824-S\* were

③ - Bureau (AM) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM)  
Chicago

JEK:ntb  
(5)

C.C. Wick

100-428091-1143  
30  
20 JAN 25 1961

Approved: *[Signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

CG 134-46 Sub B

delivered prior to the first speech of TENG Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the CP of China on 11/14/60, and were cumulative, mild and in praise of the USSR position. Most of these speakers merely praised the CPSU for arranging for the meeting and urged unity in the international Communist movement. The speech of JAMES JACKSON for the CP, USA was delivered before the speech of TENG Hsiao-ping and was similar to the others delivered. Because of the cumulative nature, and lack of significant new or controversial matter and also because lack of informant's recollection of these speeches in toto, they will not be reported. However, details have been furnished on all speeches which dealt with the dispute between Russia and China and Albania. Details were also submitted on those speeches which might be of particular interest to the United States Government such as those dealing with activities in East Germany, Japan, Cuba and India.

GALE

0 8

INFORMATION CONCERNING  
NICKY LIMA AND THE CP,  
USA DELEGATION TO THE  
MOSCOW MEETING OF 81 CPs  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES

RUSSIA

During November, 1960, NIKOLAI VLADIMIROVICH MOSTOVETS, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCPSU), and ALEKSEI ANDREEVICH GRECHUKHIN, who is in charge of the United States and the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) as a deputy to MOSTOVETS, came to the hotel in Moscow where the CP, USA delegation, to the meeting of 81 CPs and Workers' Parties, was staying. The purpose of this visit was to brief the CP, USA delegation on the CPSU version of a session of the meeting at which there was a dispute between the CPSU and the CP of China.

RUSSIA

NICKY LIMA said to MOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN, GERMANY we want to discuss these things by ourselves.

C.P. MEMBER U.S. RUSSIA ITALY  
The CP, USA delegation held a total of 19 meetings in Moscow but MOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN did not participate in any of these meetings after the remarks by LIMA.

LIMA was also unwilling to go on a tour of Russia after the conclusion of the November meeting. He was eventually influenced to take this tour to Leningrad, Kiev and the Moldavian Republic. HELMUT WINTER, JAMES ALLEN and his wife ISABELLE also went on this tour.

C.P. MEMBER C.P. MEMBER  
NICKY LIMA also invited representatives of the CP of China to his hotel room without prior notification to the CPSU of his intention of doing this. JAMES ALLEN participated in these discussions between representatives of the CP of China and LIMA. U.S. RUSSIA U.S. RUSSIA

LIMA, whose wife was born in China, arranged for a trip to China some time during 1961. The CPSU is aware of this.

100-428091-1143  
ENCLOSURE

LIMA boasted that he had talked to representatives of some 50 CPs while in Moscow.

LIMA requested that his wife be permitted to join him in Russia. The CPSU at first would not grant this request. Finally, the CPSU agreed but said that from now on, wives will not be invited to accompany CP, USA delegates to meetings in Moscow. In the meantime, LIMA's wife was unable to join him.

LIMA arranged to return to the United States by way of East Germany and Rome, Italy. The CPSU would prefer that members of the CP, USA return directly to the United States from Moscow.

As a result of these activities and a suspicion of LIMA by the CPSU because he was too anxious to obtain copies of documents, LIMA is not too welcome in the Soviet Union.

FBI

Date: 1/18/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

There appears on the following page information reflecting that XAVIER GUERRERO is the contact in Mexico for the CP, USA.

This information was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 1/11/61 in the form of a dictaphone dictabelt.

GALE

3 - Bureau (AM) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM)  
1 - Chicago  
JEK:jem  
(5)

ENCLOSURE

REC-55

EX-134

100-428091-1144

JAN 31 1961

Let to Legats, Mexico City  
1-27-61  
Sent to Room

44 James H. Gale  
63 FEB 8 1961  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

January 11, 1961

XAVIER GUERRERO IS THE CONTACT  
IN MEXICO FOR THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY (CP), USA

~~Arnolfo Martinez Vardugo~~, General Secretary of the CP of Mexico and ~~Manuel Terrazas Guerrero~~, member of the Central Committee of the CP of Mexico, advised Morris Childs in Moscow, Russia, in December, 1960, that he should continue to retain ~~Xavier Guerrero~~, a well known artist, as the contact with the CP of Mexico. They stated that even though Xavier Guerrero is no longer in the leadership of the CP of Mexico, the current leadership of the CP of Mexico has confidence in him and he can be used to establish personal contact with the CP of Mexico.

ENCLOSURE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 1  
Page 87 ~ Referral/Direct